# New Cities and Migration

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## An international debate

*edited by*
ROBERTO BOLOGNA

**saggi** | architettura design territorio

IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO SEE HUMAN MOBILITY JUST AS BACKGROUND CONTEXT FOR DEVELOPMENT, OR EVEN WORSE, AS A BY-PRODUCT OF LACK OF DEVELOPMENT. RATHER, WITH THE SDGS [SUSTAINAIBLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS], MIGRATION IS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTOR TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.

William Lacy Swing, 2017
Director General of International Organisation for Migration

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ROBERTO BOLOGNA

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI FIRENZE | DIDA DIPARTIMENTO DI ARCHITETTURA

**This book is the result of the studies carried out in the Department of Architecture, University of Florence.**
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Foreword** 11
Roberto Bologna

**Preface** 13
Saverio Mecca, Giovanni De Paoli

**Introduction | In search of lost home** 17
Roberto Bologna

**CONTRIBUTIONS**

**Migrations' disturbances and the case of Lebanon** 41
Kamel Abboud

**Physical variables affecting space appropriation in places of refuge** 55
Faten Kikano, Danielle Labbé, Gonzalo Lizarralde

**Ma'arat al Numan: The resilience of a Syrian city at war. Training specialists in reconstruction: Université Populaire Syrienne** 69
Claude Yacoub

**Disparities and Access to Resources. Our Common Home, Our Common Future** 83
Mariana Abrunhosa Pereira

**Portuguese Migrations: Historical Background, Trends and Integration** 95
Ana Silvia Fernandes

**Territorial Asymmetries and Resilience in Portugal. The Low-Density Areas of the Northwest** 109
Teresa Calix

**Informal Cape Verdean Settlement in Lisbon: Bairro 6 de Maio and the Challenge for Urban Planning** 125
Elena Tarsi

**The architecture of Norwegian asylum centers** 141
Eli Støa

**Australian urbanism and the meaning of public space. Placemaking and urban design in South-East Queensland** 169
Mirko Guaralda

**Reporting from the Australian front. Public space as a social infrastructure** 185
Luisa Bravo

**Public space in international Reports, Charter and Urban Agenda. Integration, connections and new borders** 197
Marichela Sepe

**Urban fragments and fringe areas, in-between spaces as an opportunity for the city** 213
Iacopo Zetti, Maddalena Rossi

**Piazza Indipendenza in Florence and the local Filipino community: the effects of migration on historic public spaces** 225
Francesco Alberti, Giuseppe De Luca

**Conclusion | Mapping the debate on new cities and migration: a conceptual framework** 243
Gisella Calcagno, Roberto Bologna

**LIST OF AUTHORS** 277

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# FOREWORD

The book brings together contributions to the discussion on the relationship between the future of our cities and migration, which took place on the occasion of an international meeting held in Florence (Italy) and sponsored by the Department of Architecture of the University of Florence together with the Faculty of Environmental Design of the University of Montreal. The meeting has been organized in presentation and workshop sessions. Teachers, researchers and students at various educational levels from mainly academic institution participated from different countries where migration represents a big challenge. In the preface the representatives of the two promoting institutions describe the theme of the conference and related workshops: the main issues that have been submitted for discussion of participants, as well as the current relevance and necessity that the foundations are built to meet the challenges of development and transformation of the city in a particularly critical time for as social and demographic dynamics.

The introduction describes the context of the international debate on migration and housing emergency it generates, analyzes the phenomenon of migration and its significance in relation to the problems of integration, out-

lines the prospects for cities' future development under the migratory pressure through the international scenarios depicted by leading organizations that look at the development of the world. Moreover the introduction gives an overview of emerging issues and recurring contributions presented by the speakers and offers some final remarks on the subject.

The middle section of the book collects the speakers contributions ordered according to a criterion that groups items by geographical area and affinity among the topics covered. In fact the sequence of papers is not so important: themes are taken up several times by various authors, and this explains better the inherent complexity of the argument. It was not possible to document all the reports presented at the conference, but contributions to the discussion of all participating speakers were still summarized in the final part.

The final part of the book goes over the experience of the workshop in a very direct way and with the same spontaneity the discussion has developed. To achieve this, an attempt was made to act on the graphics also to visually highlight the conceptual relationships, then synthetically represented through an interpretive map of the multiple aspects related to migration, transformation of cities, architectural design and urban planning.

The conference and workshops were held in English and the book calls upon a broader audience since the international dimensions of the theme. Therefore the authors submitted their papers directly in English and no revision of the language was made by the editorial board in order not to alter the meaning of what is written.

Saverio Mecca, Giovanni De Paoli

# PREFACE

In 2016 the Department of Architecture (DIDA) of the University of Florence and the Faculté de l'Aménagement of the Université de Montréal, launched an international workshop and invited university students, teachers and researchers to reflect on the subject of cities, refugees and immigrants.

The main aim of the I° International Workshop on New Cities and Migration, held in September 2016 at University of Florence, was to bring scholars, researchers, educators, students, professionals, policy makers, and other groups interested in the contemporary challenging question of migration within, across and beyond cities.

The socio-spatial transformation of the everyday urban environment due to the migrations movements has been debated under an interdisciplinary approach. In general terms the workshop aimed to address questions related to cities and regions that are resilient to change (climatic, social, cultural), and to discuss new forms of urban life: What are the new forms of the city for a society in transformation? Who will inhabit the city? What will be the shape of the public city in a context of transformation and immigration? Which are the possible forms of coexistence?

Universities and research centers throughout the five continents were invited to the workshop with the purpose of jointly developing global visions regarding future cities in transformation. Immigration being but one of the most important expressions of this change.

The purpose was exploring new forms of appropriation of the urban territory, in a multidisciplinary way, involving the various fields related to the project, as well as the humanities and social sciences.

One of the objectives was drawing a complex cartography of the new cities which may encompass a new vision and thus permit the construction of a phenomenological and project-oriented relationship between the new forms of appropriation of the urban territory and cities resilient to change.

These reflections on the planning and design of new cities in relation to those who live them and the forms of coexistence of their inhabitants, underlined the need for new forms of public spaces which respond to a society in a state of profound transformation, which concerns both the form and the content of the architectural and settlement fabric.

The city has been analyzed in relation to these new issues which include not only the topics of integration and social cohesion, but also of sustainable development, with the purpose of rethinking and redesigning urban spaces, integrating into the territory the practices of a new form of nomadism.

How are these new spatial forms in continuous transformation to be reconciled? How are cities that are resilient to change to be interpreted?

The workshop has been both concept and project-oriented: every group of researchers formed during the workshop proposed their own vision elaborated thanks to the comparison and exchange between researchers from every continent of the world, Europe, North America, South America, Africa, Asia, Oceania.
The workshop did not want to find answers, but rather wanted to pinpoint the issues of integration, of a new urban geography, as well as of new habits and customs, with the purpose of defining the urban space of cities.
This workshop has been an open space of discussion where students and scholars worked on visions about the future of cities, which are coping with the challenge of migration. The final step of the workshop included an event to present and discuss the results of the workshop with all of the invited participants and some representatives of institutional bodies.
The results were finalised to present visual experiments or envisioning exercises about the cities of tomorrow, which are both resilient to social and environmental challenges and adaptive so as to welcome new people.

This publication is the result of this important experience that we hope will lay the foundations for new academic cooperation and collaboration between cities.

INTEGRATION IS NOT NECESSARILY ACHIEVED WHEN MIXING DIFFERENT SOCIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS OR WHEN ONE'S IDENTITY IS SUPPOSED TO BE ASSIMILATED WITH SOMEONE ELSE'S, OR WHEN PEOPLE ARE FORCED TO SHARE THE SAME PLACES, BUT INSTEAD WHEN EVERYONE HAS THE SAME RIGHTS TO ACCESS RESOURCES OF ANY KIND.

Roberto Bologna

# INTRODUCTION
# IN SEARCH OF LOST HOME

As the news daily report, migrations in the whole world, and in particular in some regions like Europe, have assumed enormous and tragic proportions, and it has become urgent to understand and systematically address the phenomenon and its repercussions. In particular, the relationship between migratory phenomena, housing conditions and the transformation of cities and territories in spatial and functional terms is of interest to international organizations, governmental institutions, researchers and professionals to try to understand how to cope to an uncontrolled development.

Various institutions decided to organize the Workshop New Cities and Migration in order to point out the urgency of dealing with this issue. It just preceded two international symposia that, after a few days of each other, dealt with the same topic: "Architecture in Emergency" held in Istanbul between 17th and 19th November 2016 (Dostoglu et al, 2016) and "Migration and the Built Environment in the Mediterranean and the Middle East" and November 25, 2016 (Galante, 2016).

In this international context two other important appointments that took place in the same year must be taken into consideration. They also dealt with the theme of architecture in relation to the social and economic condition. It's about the exhibition "Reporting from the Front" held at the Venice Architecture Biennale, which has brought to the foreground the role of architecture in solving the housing crisis created by social, demographic, environmental and economic emergencies of which migrations are also a significant part (Aravena, 2016), and Oslo's "After belonging" Architecture Triennale, focusing on the sense of belonging to the places and the unstable situation of migrants (Casanovas, Blanco et al., 2016).

The necessity of the participation of architectural and urban planning and the demonstration of their sensibility towards the problem emerges from some recent European architectural design competitions such as "Heimat in der Fremde" (Germany 2016), "From Borders to Home" (Finland 2015) and "A Home away from Home" and "What Design Can Do" (Netherlands 2016). The results highlight the need for a contamination between social and architectural issues, spaces and services, but also the effects on the built environment.

Far from wanting to provide a comprehensive and systematic picture of the phenomenon, the Workshop New Cities and Migration was rather an opportunity to ask questions and try to identify the factors that affect the architectural design and urban planning in relation to the various forms of migration.

The almost concomitant international events call into question researchers and experts from all over the world,

suggesting some of the key topics[1] behind the reflection and discussion of how to interpret the complex relationship between migrations and environmental transformations in its multiple perspectives. Although there were some differences or specific insights, there is essentially a fairly homogeneous, but articulated thematic framework that focuses on:

- anthropological aspects of migration and the cultural and social nature of migrants;
- on-going and predictable transformations of cities and territories resulting from migratory flows;

[1] "New Cities and Migrantion Workshop" aims to address "questions related to cities and regions that are resilient to change (climatic, social, cultural) and to discuss new form of urban life: What are the new forms of cities for a society in transformation? Who inhabits the city? What will be the shape of the public city in a context of transformation and immigration? What are the possible forms of coexistence? How are these new spatial forms in continuous transformation to be reconciled? How are cities that are resilient to change to be interpreted?".
"Architecture in Emergency" is centered on topics that will "question and reshape research and practice agendas, challenges and strategies for the identification of innovative approaches from various disciplines to respond on current refugee crisis: Design as a tool for responding to the refugee crisis, Resilience and refugee spaces, Spaces for recovery and refugee attachment, Architectural design education for increasing awareness, Economic and political aspects, Communication and media related with refugee spaces, Social and psychological dimensions of refugee spaces, Cost, time and risk management, Information management, Construction, Materials and Infrastructure, Innovative Technologies, New Trends in Industry, Information Technology and Crowdsourcing".
"Migration and the Built Environment in the Mediterranean and the Middle East" addresses a number of relevant "concerns regarding the relationship between architecture, urbanism and migrations. What are the relevant impacts of migration on the host communities? What anthropological effects are linked to these phenomena? Are architectural aesthetics, the material use and the building techniques going to mutate under the pressure of migration? How is the urban landscape being transformed by flows of migration? What is happening to the housing environments? What kind of relationships are forming between transformation processes of the built environment and the social system in the presence of migrant communities?".

- use of public and living space;
- the role of the temporary settlement dimension;
- resilience of urban systems;
- forms and constructive techniques of architecture.

A quite broad thematic spectrum of issues that let you guess how complex the subject is, but above all how much it is necessary to lay the groundwork for a reasoning to address one of the most important challenges for the city of the future and its architecture.

**The phenomenon of migration**

The territorial mobility of the human being has always existed as a necessary factor to ensure survival (Chiarelli, 1992). From the very beginning, the nomadic condition of the populations has enabled them to adapt to environmental conditions such as climate changes and access to nourishment. When later in the Neolithic period began to organize its activities for the autonomous production of food, human beings went to a permanent condition by adapting the environment to their needs, cultivating land and setting up settlements. The 'nomadic' character persists in the demographic, social and economic evolution of the populations until today, embodying the experience of the 'journey', which even represents a choice of life when it is not aimed at finding a home. An experience on which the idea of transitional dwelling has been built and temporary, mobile and transportable housing patterns have been developed (Kronenburg, 2002) and their use has been transferred to the field of emergency as well. Migration, or the "displacement of individuals, mostly in groups, from one geographical area to another, deter-

mined by changes in environmental, demographic and physiological conditions"[2], is different from nomadism for the predominant search for permanent stabilization, necessary condition for evolving its social and economic status. Civilizations have also developed with the contribution of migrations in a mutual exchange that has benefited both hosting and hosted groups, contributing to improve economic conditions (Corti, 2003).

What characterize the current 'migration crisis' is that a wide range of conditions both in the regions of origin and destination influences the choice to migrate. These conditions are not static, but they are constantly changing and are related to global factors as well as the way they interact with the historical and cultural patterns of the site. Therefore, as a collective phenomenon, migrations should be considered as a global economic and expanding economic subset (Castles, Miller, 2012).

The implications of migratory phenomena on spatial aspects, housing conditions, urban and environmental transformations have nowadays a significant impact regarding the demographic growth, massive anthropisation and the load generated by it on the environment. The illustrious sociologist Zygmunt Bauman puts us in front of an inevitable reality: the migratory crisis is part of our present world and it is a destiny not just for one part of humanity but for all of us (Bauman, 2016).

Among the authoritative people in the world, Pope Francis seems to have understood the global and epochal flow

[2] Enciclopedia Treccani on line, <www. Treccani.it/vocabolario/migrazione> (05/2017).

of migration, its relationship with the defense of the environment and the 'care of the common home' (Pope Francis, 2015). He speaks of a 'wellness culture' that makes us selfish, leads us to the 'globalization of indifference' and makes us insensitive to the misfortunes of others, bringing the issue of migrants back to the ethical level (Pope Francis, 2013).

It is evident that the phenomenon has strong ethical and sociological implications. As Bauman explains, indigenous peoples show a different attitude towards migrants than they did in the past: today, they are threatened in their stability, and the migrant is a stranger, a 'strange' person who does not want to lose his identity to assimilate himself to another culture (Bauman, 2016).

We must bear in mind that those who leave their own land, their own family, their own affections to face a risky and journey dense of suffering towards a destination and an unknown future, certainly must be in a state of extreme despair. Moreover, if we consider that most migrants are young males representing the bulk of the productive force of a society, then the tragic conditions of the countries from which they flee are further aggravated by the fact that they are deprived of labor force that can produce and provide livelihood and they remain inhabited predominantly by elderly, women and children.

There is a lot of discussion about the reasons that cause whole populations to move to other countries, on other continents. In current migrations, the main reasons can be addressed to political, economic, social, and environmental factors in an interconnected system.

Political reasons concern wars, armed conflicts, violence,

injustice, partly generated by ethnic and social conflicts or economic claims.

Economic reasons lead to ever-increasing inequality among wealthy and poor, among those who have access to resources and those who are hindered, by highlighting social differences. People are then forced to migrate to improve their quality of life in search of better social and economic conditions. But as long as there will be the current economic model, these causes can hardly be eliminated: economic and technological development tends to lower the need of manpower, exploiting resources for the benefit of a small part of the population and concentrating wealth to few people.

Social reasons are closely related to economic conditions that determine the differences between populations, but are also linked to ethnic, cultural, religious, often conflict-based identities.

Environmental reasons are caused by disasters, such as earthquakes, certainly unpredictable in times of occurrence and effects, and floods, hydrogeological disasters, droughts that are becoming more and more frequent and consistent because of the current climate change, lack of prevention and land caring.

All of these reasons create inhospitality, instability, hindrance to development, and consequently displacement of people towards other destinations. Global data on migration flows and forecasts over the next few decades (UNHCR, 2016; IOM, 2016) speak clearly: the phenomenon became heavily relevant and it is unstoppable at current conditions, and even if States, autonomously or internationally, are discussing what strategies to take to limit mi-

grations, it is a vain and unproductive effort to think of countering and eliminating it.

Different aspects affecting the relocation of populations determine on the international scene different categories of displaced persons from the point of view of the legal status and consequently also the recognition of the right of these people to remain in the state of destination. The term 'migrants' generally refers to different categories of people moving from one place to another and therefore includes refugees and asylum seekers. The International Organization for Migration, in addition to world migration data and trends, provides definitions of the various key terms related to migration, highlighting the interdependencies (IOM, 2011). Depending on the sources of data from the various national and international organizations and the laws adopted in the different states, the way to identify the different types of people on the move may slightly differ.

The United Nations Refugee Agency, proposes the following definitions (UNHCR, 2016):

- 'Refugees' are people fleeing conflict or persecution. They are defined and protected by international law, and must not be expelled or returned to situations where their life and freedom are at risk,
- 'Asylum-seeker' is someone whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed,
- 'Migrant' describes a person who moves, usually across an international border, to join a family member already abroad, to search for a livelihood, to escape a natural disaster or for a range of other purposes.

Migratory phenomena have been the subject of numerous studies in the field of social sciences, but the effects on environmental mutations as well as on the anthropological, physical and spatial dimensions remain largely unexplored, as well as the construction and the representation of architecture and the city.
From the point of view of spatial implications, the distinction between the categories of displaced persons is not indifferent and it affects the approach the States have towards them, the procedures and arrangements for solving the housing emergency generated by the displacement, particularly in Europe and Italy where the phenomenon is most evident (Calcagno, Bologna, 2016).

**The international scenario on the future city and the theme of migration**

The migration factor has a decisive role in the development scenarios identified by international organizations more and more focused on the concept of sustainability. Given the definition of sustainable development outlined in the Bruntland Report (1987), it must be admitted that migration is clearly in contradiction with the concept of sustainable development since it entails a high expenditure of resources and it compromises the quality of life.
In general, international institutions and organizations concerned with sustainable development and the future of cities emphasize the need to adapt the tools of urban planning and architectural design in view of the new meanings that cities have taken as a result of the ongoing transformations. The scope is to address emerging social, economic and environmental problems in accordance

with the principles of inclusion, participation, cohesion and resource access.

World population growth forecasts (UNDESA, 2017) and the increased concentration in urban settlements consistently fueled by migratory flows (UNDESA, 2014) are central to the prospects for sustainable development. Migrants, both internal and external, generally occupy the marginal areas of cities and very often become informal settlers who are proliferating around the major urban centers that host a large part of the world's population. This phenomenon has a significant growth trend in the future (UN Habitat 2015, 2016), and it is contributing to aggravate the already critical living conditions of those areas. The United Nations Development Program focuses on sustainable development by promoting an integrated approach to environmental, social and economic aspects, supporting the "2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" and "Sustainable Development Goals" in order to promote concrete actions to eradicate poverty, protecting the planet and ensuring peace and prosperity for all people (UNDP, 2015). Among the 17 objectives included in the Program, the one for Cities and Sustainable Communities (Goal 11) refers to the need to improve urban planning and management in a participatory and inclusive way. The New Urban Agenda adopted in United Nations Conference Habitat "Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements for All" in 2016 (UN Habitat, 2016) contributes to the application and contextualization of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals, including goal 11 to make inclusive, secure, resilient and sustainable cities

and settlements. The New Urban Agenda pays particular attention to the issue of migration, underlining the need to handle the many forms of discrimination against displaced people (Call for Action 20).

The paragraph "Sustainable urban development for social inclusion and ending poverty" states the commitment

> to ensure the full respect for human rights and humane treatment of refugees, internally displaced persons, and migrants, regardless of migration status, and support their host cities in the spirit of international cooperation, taking into account national circumstances, and recognizing that, although the movement of large populations into towns and cities poses a variety of challenges, it can also bring significant social, economic, and cultural contributions to urban life.

It also states the commitment

> to strengthen synergies between international migration and development, at the global, regional, national, sub-national, and local levels by ensuring safe, orderly, and regular migration through planned and well-managed migration policies and to support local authorities in establishing frameworks that enable the positive contribution of migrants to cities and strengthened urban-rural linkages (item 28).

Emphasizing the economic and social dimension of development, in the paragraph "Sustainable and inclusive urban prosperity and opportunities for all", participation and collaboration between all stakeholders, including migrant associations, is highly promoted. This collaboration would be in "ascertaining the opportunities for urban economic development" (item 48), and also it would promote the displaced persons "full and productive employment, decent work for all, and livelihood opportunities in

cities and human settlements" (item 57) recognizing the contribution of migrant workers to the urban economy (paragraph 59). With respect to the physical dimension of cities and settlements, the paragraph "Planning and managing urban spatial development" outlines the participatory and inclusive process of all inhabitants, and in particular land use that is not discriminatory against the migrant populations (item 104).

Resuming the principles expressed in the international documents, but examining them on the level of strategic guidelines, the recent Green Economy Manifesto for Architecture and Town Planning *The Future City*[3] at point 7 "Designing a Desirable Future for Cities", devotes a broad passage to the theme of migration:

> The presence of a significant proportion of an immigrant population, with different religions and cultures, is a relevant issue for the future of cities: it is to be planned and managed with realism and welcoming spirit, preventing the creation of criminality and promoting low-cost housing and where necessary, the temporary nature and reversibility of uses. Meeting and aggregation sites need to be created in order to favour good and lasting local relationships. The planned involvement of the community and migrants in restoration, recovery and re-use of property and degraded areas must help to prevent situations of housing emergency not only for migrants but also for local low-income communities. Strengthening processes of social inclusion is necessary not only to make cities more ethical, but also to build a better, more secure and desirable future for everyone (Antonini, Tucci, 2017).

[3] The Manifesto has been developed by a working group of the National Council of the Green Economy 2016. The point 7 in particular has been written starting from the text by Bologna R., Rogora A., Cafiero A., Annunziato M. 2017, *Risposta alle emergenze sociali, promozione del benessere e della partecipazione*, in Antonini E., Tucci F., op. cit.

The outlined scenarios highlight not only the need to understand the migration component in the organic and sustainable development of our cities, but also the opportunities that result from it.

**The themes presented by participants at the New Cities and Migration Workshop**

The contributions presented at the workshop New Cities and Migrants and collected in this publication testify the many problems brought by migration in the world and the different angles from which the problem can be perceived. It shows a very diverse picture of the causes of migrations, the consistency of the impact of the population on the places of destination, the physical nature of the transformations generated by the housing demand and their influence scale. It makes difficult to find common denominators and especially it makes understand how the approaches to the problem and the attempt to overcome it are strongly linked to the local nature of the phenomenon and social, cultural, economic and environmental diversity.

With reference to the issues raised by the international conference programme, the participants contributed with their direct research and experience by drawing a broad framework that touches many regions of the world: the cities of refugees in Lebanon (Abboud, Kikano, Labbè, Lizarralde), the transformations resulting from the migration in the territories of Portugal (Calix, Fernandes, Pereira, Tarsi), reception centers in Norway (Støa), the use of shared space according to the international programming guidelines (Sepe), the experiences in the Australian cit-

ies (Bravo, Guaralda) and in Italy (Alberti, De Luca, Zetti, Rossi), the reconstruction processes in Syria (Yacoub). Some recurring themes appear in the authors' discussions. Starting from the analysis of specific territorial realities some authors reflect on the causes of migration, the source of imbalances, highlighting:

- the phenomenon of migration as a result of natural disasters or climate change and also of geopolitical, conflict and violence decisions (Abboud);
- the role of the growing gap between rich countries and underdeveloped regions that push large amounts of poor people to move to the search for means of livelihood, triggering the reaffirmation of nationalisms aimed at countering the phenomenon (Abboud);
- the aggravation of territorial asymmetries and social inequality as a result of the dynamics accentuated by the recent crisis (Calix);
- the need to rebalance the distribution of resources in order to limit social and economic inequality and to reduce energy consumption by the wealthier population according to the principle of energy sufficiency (Pereira);
- the excessive value attributed to the economic principles that characterize modern development (Calix).

In other cases, the discussion focuses on town planning and the right to live the city with particular reference to:

- the desertification of low density urban areas and the formation interstitial areas of low value as an opportunity for a living space outside the congested urban areas that best respond to social inclusion (Calix, Sepe) as an opportunity for urban regeneration in a vision of

the city open to the problem of migration and reception (Zetti, Rossi, Støa) and as a guarantee of greater resilience by focusing on infrastructure management and public services in a shortage of investment (Calix);

- the right to live the city through access to the house and public spaces as a condition for promoting social interaction and dialogue and, at the same time, the requalification of urban degraded areas to contain gentrification and exclusion mechanisms (Fernandes), the valorisation of the informal, the defense of the rights of a specific community, respect for cultural differences for the survival of the group and the resilience of the community (Tarsi, Calix);
- the need to create opportunities for the development of the capacity through assistance, strengthening the common dialogue between cultures according to the concept of reciprocity (Fernandes);
- ways of appropriation of urban public space by migrant communities, often causing conflicts with the resident population for improper use due to illegal trade, criminal acts and aesthetic and comfort degradation, but which can be limited through process of environmental redevelopment and dialogue between the parties on the basis of mutual recognition of rights (Alberti, De Luca);
- the problem of the skills necessary to reconstruct not only the physical dimension of cities but also the sociological dimension of a community made up of residents and internal immigrants (Yacoub).

Finally, many authors emphasize the role of public space and architecture:

- public space as a place for meeting and confrontation and social inclusion (Guaralda, Sepe) and at the same time a place where different forms of cultural and social expression can take place in order to give migrant communities the opportunity of settle cultural and social collective rites which would be otherwise prevented by spatially limited housing conditions (Guaralda). Public space as a catalyst for social integration (Fernandes, Bravo) and real social infrastructure (Bravo);
- the role of the physical environment and architecture in ensuring adequate living conditions but also promoting better social interaction within and outside the community by supporting fundamental ideas of equality, respect and belonging (Støa);
- the flexibility of the structure, the practical knowledge of refugees and their control over the space and availability of resources in relation to the appropriation of space and the creation of better living environments (Kikano, Labbè, Lizarralde).

The outcomes of the discussion and a conceptual map are presented in the final chapter highlighting the interconnections between themes.

**Final remarks**

Despite the evidence and gravity of the situation in many parts of the world, the political response is still very contradictory. In Europe, as in many other countries, a shared vision is yet to be achieved and there is still great instability and indecision about how the problem should be addressed; predominant economic models govern unbalanced development; the impacts on the environment in

terms of resource exploitation and climatic transformations outlined negative scenarios; social inequalities are getting tighter.

It is impossible to think to embrace the implications of migration on urban and territorial transformations, regardless of political decisions, choices on economic models, and environmental strategies. Sustainability of development must first account the environment's capabilities and resources and then combine social and economic aspects. The response to housing emergency caused by migratory flows takes different forms depending on geographical, political and economic contexts. Space organization depends on the number and type of displaced persons, the available resources, the type of institutions and organisations involved and which hold the control of the territory. There is no single model. In fact, there are different forms of new construction or recovery of existing structures; they might be concentrated or widespread, organized or spontaneous, emerging or programmed; the answers are heterogeneous depending on the type of settlement, scale of intervention, relationship with the context and include from refugee camps, collective hospitality centers, informal agglomerations, collective or individual homes.

Although the problem of migratory flows has strong political, social and economic significance, it is sure that ultimately spatial implications are a real, as practical consequence of the phenomenon of displacement, which requires to be embraced with a clear vision of future prospects, and not anymore in a temporary way.

The theme of formation is one of the fundamental aspects necessary to handle the transformations that take

place in a long-term time. The incidence of the migratory phenomenon on the spontaneous or planned, informal or regulated transformation of cities, dwellings and territories is such that we can no longer neglect the commitment of architects/urbanists; they have to be involved and acquire sensitivity and competence also through an adequate professional training which requires innovative approaches and multidisciplinary contributions.
We need new approaches to project management with shared solutions, where urbanists and architects must act as mediators between institutions and the community and the needs of real people (Manzini, 2015) bringing architecture and urbanism back to the original meaning of providing an answer to the essential problems of living. For this reason, those involved in architectural and urban design must 'get their hands dirty', be aware of the problems of migrants, who are people and not numbers (Skotte, 2016).

We need to rethink cities and architecture planning and construction models to cope with social transformation according to sustainable development. Examples are represented by spontaneous and informal practices, now no longer considered as a negative phenomenon, but as a real opportunity and available to achieve the maximum result with the minimum of potential resources (UN Habitat, 2003).
Realizing the concept of 'liquid society' by Bauman sociologist, the use of liquid planning models to deal with dynamic development in which the functional and spatial urban design spheres are fluid and interconnected, can represent an answer to the future city configuration hy-

pothesis. The practice of temporary urbanism (Bishop, Williams, 2012) is a reality that has already produced interesting results in some cities.

Inclusion, sharing and participation are therefore key words to ensure the integration of migrants and the organic and sustainable development of cities. But integration is not necessarily achieved when mixing different social and cultural groups or when one's identity is supposed to be assimilated with someone else's, or when people are forced to share the same places, but instead when everyone has the same rights to access resources of any kind, respecting the laws and rules of social coexistence being aware that the benefits of integration may burden the entire community and the inhabited area.

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# CONTRIBUTIONS

JE SOUHAITE QUE LE MODÈLE QUE PORTE LE LIBAN, CELUI D'UNE CULTURE DE L'HOSPITALITÉ, DE LA PLURALITÉ ET DU MAINTIEN DES ÉQUILIBRES SUR LESQUELS L'ÉTAT LIBANAIS A ÉTÉ CONSTRUIT […] MAIS SI LA COMMUNAUTÉ INTERNATIONALE NE PARVIENT PAS À APPORTER UNE RÉPONSE SATISFAISANTE […] ALORS CE SERA L'AUTRE MODÈLE, CELUI DE LA CONFLICTUALITÉ ET DE LA FRAGMENTATION COMMUNAUTAIRE, ETHNIQUE ET RÉGIONALE QUI L'EMPORTERA.

Emmanuel Macron

Kamel Abboud

# MIGRATIONS' DISTURBANCES AND THE CASE OF LEBANON

**Abstract**

We are grateful to the organizers of the workshop and the DIDA department of the Università degli Studi, Firenze who gave us and our students the opportunity to be present in this event and to express freely our experience and analysis on this matter. This workshop was a splendid occasion for us, Lebanese team of "Académie Libanaise des Beaux-Arts-Université de Balamand"[1], to bring out a 'cry from the heart' at the face of the world community about the gravity of the situation in our country. The shared experiences and analysis were a tremendous moment of cultural enrichment and shifting of point of views. The inputs of each participant allowed us to reach unsuspected aspects of the issue at stake. The discussions and exchanges made it possible for all presents to sense the universality of the problem in this beginning of the 21st century.

**Keywords**

Refugees, burden, demographic disequilibrium, instability, resilience, Lebanon.

[1] ALBA team was constituted by Kamel Abboud, Jean Marc Bonfils and 6 students: Elige Beyrouti, Lara Bouchebel, Sandra Harb, Cesar Moukarzel, Jean Marc Nasr, Sandy Sarkis.

**Introduction**

Be it the result of major natural catastrophes — like the earthquake in Haiti —, or the result of geopolitical decisions — like the construction to the three gorges Yangtze River dam —, or of the global warming induced migrations, or, last but not least, of the never-ending violence's and wars like of Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq or Syria, massive population displacement are today (and will still be in the near future) one of the biggest challenges of the specie's preservation. Another cause, maybe the major one, for those massive population movements, is the growing gap in revenues between rich countries and underdeveloped regions. The fact that total wealth of the planet being more and more possessed by a lesser number of individuals, combined to the fact that the new network structure of the world makes it easier to all to comprehend this injustice, is producing an active rejection of this situation. Poverty becoming more unbearable than ever before, first possible action against it (in the mind of the deprived) is travelling towards wealthiest regions. In the first decades of this twenty-first century, practically all over the world, utopias are being erased. Only a shadowed vision of humanity's future can be foreseen… and this is induced by the causes behind those massive migrations!

This fact is becoming a key argument for re-born nationalisms. All over the planet, extremist political movements are being implemented by the fear of changes occurring on such a scale in cultural and urban environment. It is worth noting that those political changes and social stiffening of attitudes are mostly occurring in the least concerned countries, in fact, the least concerned by those

waves of immigrants! Be it only by their remoteness from the sources of migration movements, countries like the United States or Australia, entirely built by immigrants, are those who are the most scared to welcome populations fleeing adversity. As if those countries, well aware of the injustices that were inflicted by their ancestors on the natives, were afraid that they would be treated the same by today's new incomers…

Starting by the political unease that caused the BREXIT, or the popular unexplained election of Donald Trump at the head of the most powerful and ethnically diverse country, or the so-called fears of the Australian authorities of losing the 'Australian cultural identity' front a few thousand migrants, those wealthy economies, fuelled by fears of migrants, are taking counterproductive measures that might revert very negatively on their own future.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that populations that are widely voting against welcoming policies are the ones that generally live in rural areas… rural areas with petrified economic systems that would have been the first beneficiaries of 'fresh blood' in their economic structures. On another side, citizens living in big urban agglomerations, the same that might be precisely suffering the most of immigrant ghettos, are the ones that encourage welcoming and help of new immigrants. This phenomenon is worth being analysed at a universal scale to confirm its relevancy. How are cities being affected by those massive movements is a huge question that scholars, urban planners and architects all over the world are worried about! Few of them, though, can really measure the social burden of migration on host countries and their impact on cities.

**Historical review**

In his book *Sapiens, Une brève histoire de l'Humanité*, Yuval Noah Harari give us some hints for somehow reposition our analysis of today's world.

"Humanity has always been formatted by migrating populations" (Harari, 2015, pp. 235-240). Since the beginning of civilizations, mankind has constantly remodelled its built environment consequently to migration waves. Migrations are even one of the key factors of mankind evolution and development. Mankind's ability to manage larger and larger groups of humans from distinct cultures or 'worlds' brought humanity to its current evolution stage… The differences between prehistoric migrations, migrations before 15th century, and today's massive migrations remain their frequency and their pace of implantation in space and time. When our Africans ancestors swarmed all over the surface of the globe to produce all races, they could do so only at a relative slow pace and rhythm. Those major migration movements took sometime tens of thousands of years to be implemented.

Today's migrations are characterized by their speed and intensity. Never before has mankind witnessed changes of its population in such a fast and massive way. Never before, had so many simultaneous migrations from multiple regions of the world taken place[2]. This acceleration is

[2] By the end of 2014, a record-breaking 38 million people had become displaced within their own country as a result of violence. A massive 11 million of them were newly uprooted during 2014 — equal to 30,000 people a day, according to the Norwegian Refugee Council's Geneva-based Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC).
UNHCR cared for around 26 million of the world's IDP population in 2014. The IDMC's Global Overview 2015 reported that the majority of

nurtured not only by the facility to travel but especially by the universal access to communication and immediate exchange of information. This instantaneous access to information all over the world has a direct effect on the perception of time and space. When members of a Punjabi family chat with their son, employee in the United Arab Emirates, they subconsciously feel they are also physically 'present' with him, they can see him, hear him, and that at almost any moment. So eventually, they will feel they are somehow 'entitled' to be near him, to be with him. And the day comes where this longing is stronger than circumstances… And that's how some migration movements begin. Today, no member of a population whatsoever can refer to his origins without making a mental trip in his own close family memory, a memory located in a different place or region of the planet. It is quite common today that most individuals in any society anywhere on the planet relate to an idealized 'homeland' from where at least their grandfathers or even fathers originated.

Prehistoric and historic migrations often induced violent wars and social turmoil that produced afterwards the fertile soil of new civilizations. Those new born civilizations played a major role in the creation of cities. Cities

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the increase in new displacement during that year was the result of protracted crises in Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Nigeria, South Sudan and Syria. In total, these five countries accounted for 60 per cent of new displacement worldwide.

Iraqi civilians suffered the most new displacement, with at least 2.2 million displaced in 2014, while at least 40 per cent of Syria's population, or 7.6 million people, have been displaced — the highest number in the world. Europe, for the first time in more than a decade, also suffered massive enforced displacement. This was caused by war in eastern Ukraine, where more than 640,000 people fled their homes (UNHCR, 2016).

like Nineveh, Cartage, Cairo, Venice, Beirut, New York, Rio de Janeiro, etc., only exist because they were at crossroads of civilizations, of conquests, of massive displacements. They became harbours of differences and sometimes were even generated by clash of different cultures within their own citizens.

Today's migrations, even though they are most of the time induced by wars and violence, do not necessarily provoke immediate violence or wars, mainly because people are no more moving to an unknown 'world'. They are just shifting their place of residence from a spatial situation to another in a world they consider as already known, as already 'theirs'. They are used to see the cities they are heading to, they 'think' they already know the new places they're heading at, 'think' that they they know and, most of the time, that they like the people there and their way of living. They also might assume that themselves and their own way of living are in return well known to the welcoming countries, and that is precisely what most of the times, becomes the precursor of social catastrophes.

**The case of Lebanon is interesting to present as an illustration of our personal analysis**

Lebanon has always been a land of ancestral hospitability, where more than 18 communities cohabit on a tiny territory (10.452 $km^2$), clamped to a mountain with very few arable land (less than 13%) (Université de Sherbrooke, 2017); its main cities develop along a tiny coastal stretch with high urban density, along the Mediterranean Sea.

During the last hundred years, the country relentlessly witnessed a series of migration waves, unable to harness

their effect on the constant rewriting of its history. Permanent instability and political turmoil in the surrounding countries, and a Lebanese legal constitution based on democratic and humanitarian values, allied to an extreme political fragility, contributed to the country's incapacity to control and properly establish a sustainable management policy of those waves of refugees. Consequently, the urban fabric has witnessed permanent mutations and irreversible transformations.

Starting with the Armenians refugees immigrants in 1915 (fleeing the Turk's massacres), then in 1926 and 1939, followed by the confessional minorities out casted by the regimes' changes in Iraq and Syria, until the massive arrival of the Palestinian refugees in 1948 (declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel), and in 1967 (Six days war), all those immigrants' waves profoundly altered the demographic equilibrium in the local communities and therefore the social and urban fabric of the country.

The Palestinians refugees, installed in camps surrounding the main cities with their weapons (Cairo Treaty 1969, supposedly entitling them to defend themselves from Israeli attacks) and rapidly transformed in slum ghettos, played a major role in the political destabilisation of the country that led to the civil war of 1975-1991.

In the 80's, the Israeli army occupied the southern part of the country until 2000, whereas the Syrian army occupied the rest of the country until 2005 under the cover of international bargains. Those occupations consistently froze or delayed the political restructuring of the country until the last 10 years when world economic crisis, general regional turmoil and terrorism occurred at the scale we all know.

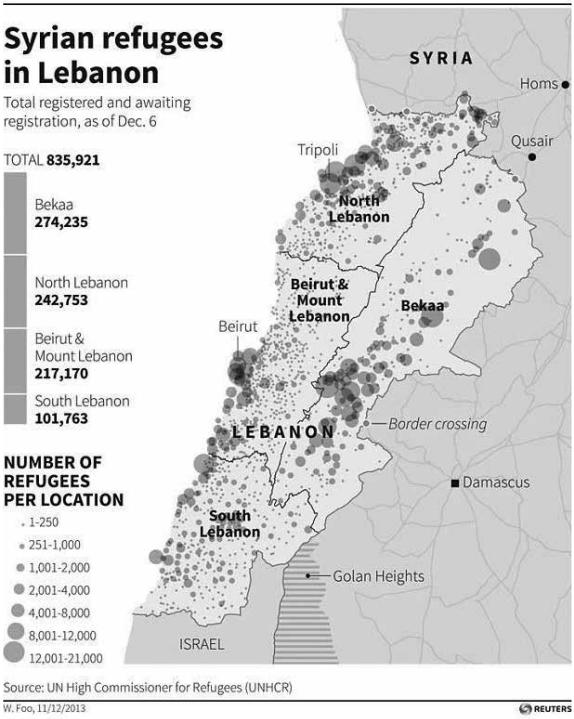


Fig. 1. Syrian refugees in Lebanon, Map (source: UNHCR; image: W. Foo, 2013).

New waves of Iraqis immigrants, after Persian Gulf wars (in 1992 and especially in 2003), and above all the tsunami of the Syrian refugees since 2012 (Fig. 1), added to the Palestinian refugees still present, became, to the Lebanese authorities, the main unsolvable headache.

Constantly quartered by the major geopolitical forces, the country has never been able to restore its full capacity after years of occupation of foreign armies, repeated Israeli wars and massive waves of immigration.

Fig. 2. Syrian refugee's camp in Bekaa valley. Lebanon (photo: T. Murphy).

In parallel to those immigration movements, we witnessed three emigration waves of Lebanese people: first wave was fleeing the starvation resulting of WWI; second wave was in the 1975-2000 period fleeing the civil war and the massive destructions provoked by the Israeli wars; third wave, being essentially for economic reasons, could be somehow related to the recent flows of desperate immigrants freely competing in the work market.

Today, Lebanese citizens have to face a socio-economic disequilibrium whose causes are hardly identifiable in relation to all those new demographic factors (Fig. 2).

Due to the concentration of immigrants and their unbelievable ratio of 41% of the Lebanese population (students of ALBA-Balamand, 2016), the country is becoming a study case for a consistent number of NGO's and countries. Lebanon's political resilience facing this unbearable social and economic burden is interesting numerous foreign political analysts. Presidents, ministers and specialists of multiple countries are being sent to Lebanon trying to

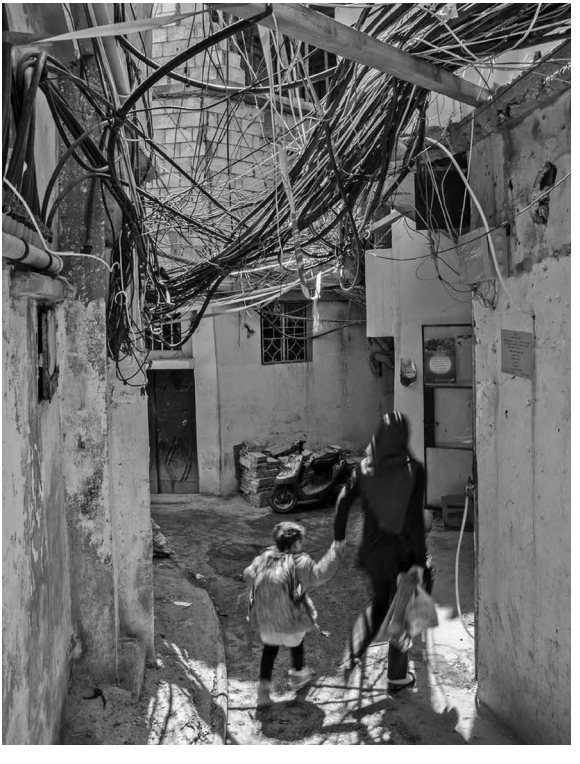

Fig. 3. Spontaneous chaotic infrastructure inside Palestinian refugee's camp. Lebanon (photo: unknown author).

decipher the reasons behind its structural resilience. Few really understand that maybe this political resilience is precisely due to its lack of real political and administrative structure; the country has been living in precarious situation for such a long time, specifically since 1975, that citizens and residents have developed a parallel infrastructure — 'plan B' — based on private and individual initiatives (Fig. 3):

- A parallel private electrical network, totally chaotic yet functional, based on neighbourhood generator sets, connects homes in major residential areas of the country.
- Drinkable water depends on a private distribution network of bottled mineral water much more than on the public network.
- Waste management is in the hands of private subcontractors working independently for municipalities and cities.
- Transportation depends on private vehicles in a proportion defying all common sense and all sustainability.
- Communication networks in some areas depend on private relay stations.
- Education and universities widely lay in the hand of private and religious authorities.
- Furthermore, the social and communitarian structure of the country is so complex that all parties convened a long time ago that civil issues would be dealt by the confessional authorities of each community.

All to say that the so called 'resilience' is more like a 'non-state situation' (at least as understood in European and western countries) that makes it possible for the people to bear what would have been considered as more than cataclysmic in developed countries.

Visiting Lebanon in January 2017, President Emmanuel Macron, then candidate for the French presidency, speaking of Lebanon's resilience and perfectly resuming the situation he witnessed, declared:

> [le Liban] le pays le plus affecté par la crise à cause de la présence massive des réfugiés… Il est, à mon sens, un laboratoire et un test de crédibilité majeur pour la vision de


Fig. 4. 41% of the population of Lebanon is constituted by refugees (image: Students of ALBA-Balamand, Beirut, 2016).

l'humanité qui est la nôtre et pour le projet que je souhaite défendre [Fig. 4].

Je souhaite que le modèle que porte le Liban, celui d'une culture de l'hospitalité, de la pluralité et du maintien des équilibres sur lesquels l'État libanais a été construit, l'emporte dans une région en proie à des tensions extrêmes. Mais si la communauté internationale ne parvient pas à apporter une réponse satisfaisante aux enjeux qui le bousculent comme la crise syrienne, celle des réfugiés et les tiraillements de la société, alors ce sera l'autre modèle, celui de la conflictualité et de la fragmentation communautaire, ethnique et régionale qui l'emportera.

…Mais il est vrai que nous sommes dans un monde qui est en profond bouleversement: l'ordre géopolitique dans lequel nous avons vécu depuis 1945 est en train de se décomposer, et de nouveaux risques sont en train d'apparaître, comme ceux liés à la menace terroriste ou le fait migratoire… Par ailleurs, une fracture se dessine au sein du bloc occidental, j'espère qu'elle ne sera pas durable, mais c'est un vrai bouleversement par rapport au rôle que les États-Unis jouaient dans l'équilibre de la planète. Cela donne à la France… et à l'Europe une responsabilité et un devoir de cohérence plus grands que jamais. (Macron Emmanuel, 2017)

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PHYSICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SPACE IN INSTIGATING A SIGNIFICANT SPACE APPROPRIATION, WHICH CAN LEAD TO LIVING ENVIRONMENTS THAT ARE MORE ADAPTED, AND ADAPTABLE TO THE LIFE STYLE, SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPIRATIONS, AND FREQUENTLY PROTRACTED SITUATION OF REFUGEES.

Faten Kikano, Danielle Labbé, Gonzalo Lizarralde

# PHYSICAL VARIABLES AFFECTING SPACE APPROPRIATION IN PLACES OF REFUGE

**Abstract**

Places of refuge are usually designed as short-term emergency solutions based on a 'one fits all' approach. However, experience shows that these places frequently outlive their original timeframe and their design is often culturally and climatically unfit. As a result and despite harsh living conditions and socio-institutional inequalities, refugees usually modify them to meet their specific needs and culture. This chapter investigates such transformations through the lens of space appropriation. The study hypothesizes that there is a link between space appropriation and physical factors in places of refuge. The following physical components of the space need to be considered: settlement type, materials, assembling or building techniques, flexibility of the structure, and availability of resources used by refugees in the space transformations. This process is illustrated through an empirical study recently conducted in Lebanon, a country hosting nearly 1.5 million Syrian refugees. Due to a non-encampment policy adopted by the Lebanese government, refugees have resorted to different types of housing solutions. The research is based on two case studies located in the Be-

kaa region: First, a self-built Informal Tented Settlement (ITS), located in a rural area in which residents have a rental agreement with landowners, and are provided services and basic building materials by humanitarian institutions. Second, an Organized Camp (OC) managed by a group of NGOs, consisting in 12m$^2$ modular prefabricated units in which refugees live free of charge. Data was collected during periodical fieldworks in 2015, 2016 and 2017, through direct observation, and meetings with camp managers and refugees in both settlements. The results highlight the importance of the physical components of the space in instigating a significant space appropriation, which can lead to living environments that are more adapted, and adaptable to the life style, socio-cultural aspirations, and frequently protracted situation of refugees. These findings can serve as a basis for future planning and designs of places of refuge by humanitarian organizations and authorities.

**Keywords**
Syrian refugees, Lebanon, Places of refuge, Space appropriation, Physical components of space.

## Introduction

With more than 65 million forced displaced people worldwide, "refugee spaces are emerging as quintessential geographies of the modern". Yet "their intimate and everyday spatialities remain under-explored" (Sanyal, 2014, p. 558). Spaces for refugees are usually designed as temporary shelters. However, in more than 60% of the cases (Loescher et al., 2008), they last for years, and de-

spite harsh living conditions and socio-institutional inequalities, they become social units of space, as refugees progressively adapt them to their needs, culture, and ways of life (Agier, 2001; Ramadan, 2013).

A growing scholarship analyses refugee spaces through the lenses of legal, geopolitical, anthropological, social or economic concepts (Bauman, 2007; Betts et al., 2014; Crisp, 2004; Malkki, 1995; Sanyal, 2014; Verdirame, Harrell-Bond, 2005). Yet few studies have analyzed them as spatial entities, and little is known about the ways in which they are transformed by their occupants and the kind of relationships that refugees establish with these spaces. This chapter begins to fill this gap by exploring refugees' relationships with their housing environment through the lens of space appropriation, defined as a process of intervention on space to transform and personalize it, ultimately leading to a sense of attachment, identity and belonging (Fischer, 2010). The study argues that space appropriation is significant if the physical components of space are easy to manipulate and transform, and if its inhabitants have access to the necessary resources and possess the technical skills to apply such transformations on the initial structure of their dwelling (Fischer, 2010; Morval, 2007; Tortel, 1998). Space appropriation can be material. In this case, it is visible through interventions on the space organization and through cultural and symbolic objects that are used to mark it. It can also be ideational and it is then observable through manifestations of place attachment and belonging expressed through occupants' discourse and behaviors (Ripoll, Veschambre, 2005).

Of the 14.4 million refugees under UNHCR's mandate

by the end of 2014, almost 3.5 million lived in Organized Camps (OC), and 500.000 in informal settlements (UNHCR, 2014a). In organized camps, refugees often live in prefabricated units designed in a 'one fits all' approach, with alien technologies, and with disregard to the climate in the host country and to the specific needs of occupants including cultural and religious traditions. These traditions often entail separation between men and women, large number of family members, and preference for extended families. In informal Tented Settlements (ITSs), shelters are initially precarious unsustainable constructions, self-built by refugees with basic materials received from NGOs, such as wood posts or metallic poles for the structure and a tarpaulin cover.

**The case of Syrian refugees in Lebanon**

Following the Syrian conflict that erupted in 2011, Lebanon kept its borders wide open, and was overwhelmed by an unexpectedly high number of refugees. However, for political reasons, the government adopted a non-encampment policy, which led refugees to spread informally in almost 2000 locations across the country, significantly altering its urban landscape (Thibos, 2014). Lebanon is now hosting almost 1.5 million Syrian refugees, and has become the country with the highest percentage of refugees per capita. Hosting so many refugees is a tall order for country that is already suffering from political instability, inadequate infrastructure, and shortage in services. Other implications include demographic imbalances; aggravated unemployment; social instability; political tensions; exacerbated pre-existing vulnerabilities; rapid land

use transformations; and the layering of a second refugee population on top of the existing one (UNHCR, 2014b; World Bank et al., 2013). The non-encampment policy has led to different housing solutions most of which are based either on informal rent agreements, or on financial arrangements between NGOs and Lebanese owners and tenants. While most Syrian refugees live in rented apartments in the poorest urban areas, 17% live in ITSs and less than 1% live in OCs (Kikano et al., 2015).

**Methodology**

This chapter explores the spatial transformations operated by Syrian refugees based on two case studies both in the Bekaa governorate, an agriculture region, with an important population of Syrian workers who settled in the area previous to the Syrian conflict. Due to its proximity to the Syrian border, this area has one of the highest concentrations of Syrian refugees in the country, and the largest number of ITSs. The first author is from the region, which facilitates communication with various actors during the data collection process.

The first case is a settlement with 90 self-built tents situated in Terbol on agriculture land. As in most other ITSs, refugees have a rent agreement with the landowners and are provided with essential services, basic building materials and external latrines by humanitarian organizations. The second case is an OC in Bar-Elias, a Sunnite locality[1] funded and managed by a group of local and region-

[1] Most Syrian refugees are Sunnites. Thus, they feel socially accepted by the local community.

al NGOs. This OC, one of the vey few authorized by the Lebanese Government, was built on 21 000 $m^2$ private land belonging to Al Jama'a Al Islamya, an Islamic religious group. The camp is managed by a group of more than a hundred NGOs, gathered since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2012 under the umbrella of the Union of Relied and Development Associations (URDA), for the support of Syrian refugees. About 2000 Syrian refugees, selected by donors or NGOs, live in the camp, almost free of charge. In most cases, families are allocated a 12 $m^2$ prefabricated modular unit, but in some parts of the camp, shelters are single rooms built with hollow cement blocks. Latrines are located inside the living space.

We conducted a qualitative based approach study. Spatial transformations (changes in the space organization, milder design changes, and addition of cultural and personal objects) were assessed over three intervals of at least six months in 2015, 2016 and 2017. Data was collected using observations, pictures, plans and drawings of the sheltering units, 5 satellite images of each settlement (2 images per year), and informal meetings and discussions with 2 camp managers and 20 refugees conducted in both settlements in 2016. This was completed by the study of documents and reports produced by the UNHCR, NGOs (Norwegian Refugee Council, World Bank, UNHABITAT, UNICEF, World Food Program, UNRWA, Lebanon Inter-Agency) and the Lebanese government. These documents examined the legal, economic and social situation of Syrian refugees, and the conditions, needs and services provided in various types of sheltering. We identified physical variables through a literature review and

| PHYSICAL VARIABLES | ITS | OC |
|---|---|---|
| **Structure of shelter** | Tents, by virtue of their structure, offer significant flexibility, and are easy to move, transform, and reshape. In 2014, the Lebanese Government adopted a new law forbidding the construction of new tents or the enlargement of existing ones. These measures were loosely adopted, depending on the local authority's position towards the presence of refugees. | Shelters are either modular prefabricated units with a metallic structure and a double layer of gypsum boards with mineral wool insulation, or rudimentary constructions of hollow blocks covered with a coat of plaster, with a ceiling of zinc sheets and tarpaulin. Openings and latrines are in predetermined and unchangeable positions. The units are aligned along axes where passages for cars and pedestrians are created. Though they are assembled on site, the rigidity of their structure makes them difficult (or impossible if constructed) to move and transform. |
| **Refugees' technical skills** | Given that refugees originally built their own shelters without assistance, they have the necessary technical expertise to restructure them. | Refugees do not have the technical expertise to transform the initial units. They can only add spaces to existing ones. |
| **Availability of resources** | The UNHCR and NGOs distribute metal or wood studs and insulating tarpaulin (renewed before each winter season by the shelter sector). Nevertheless, refugees buy, scavenge or even steal many other elements (doors, windows, products for casting a concrete slab under the tent, hollow blocks, sheeting, furniture, etc.) in nearby villages. | Refugees are located about 5 km from the closest village. Camp management provides most resources (mainly wood studs and tarpaulin, renewed before each winter season). However, refugees scavenge, buy or steal other elements, especially doors for the additional spaces they create. |
| **Freedom of movement and livelihood opportunities** | The settlement is surrounded by agriculture land where refugees work. Thus, they easily find job opportunities, without having to move far from their living place. Children attend a school created by the UNHCR close to the camp, which further reduces the need to commute. | The camp is located far from the village and surrounded by walls. Refugees enjoy freedom of movement, but they now fear seeking for livelihood opportunities outside the camp following the new restrictive measures adopted by the Lebanese Government*. However, few months after the camp was built, the URDA created an ingenious micro economy: A hospital, a pharmacy, a dental clinic, a communal kitchen, a gym, a bakery, a hairdresser shop and a market place, which makes the camp sustainable, and allows refugees to become autonomous by running the market themselves and gradually self-financing it. |

| PHYSICAL VARIABLES | ITS | OC |
|---|---|---|
| **Environmental outcome** | Shelters are not connected to the public sewage infrastructure, and pollute the water table. | The URDA created an infrastructure, which makes the camp sustainable: Private generators, a water refinery, a sewage system, and a waste recycling facility. |
| **Type of agreement** | Verbal rent agreements with landowners affordable for refugees who earn their living in agriculture fields (rent represents about 10% of a household's yearly income). | Refugees live in the OC free of charge. As from 2016, they pay a small fee for heating. |

* In December 2014, the General Security Office sets new entry requirements for Syrians and new rules for Syrian nationals already in Lebanon applying for and renewing their residency permits, for the explicit goal of reducing the number of Syrian refugees (sources: Janmyr, 2016; Norwegian Refugee coucil, International Rescue Committee, 2015).

Tab. 1. Analysis of physical variables and their impact on space appropriation in both settlements.

used them to constitute an assessment grid (Tab. 1). We analyzed, on the one hand, the physical variables in both sites, and on the other hand, the space transformed or produced and its suitability to the way of life, needs, and culture of its occupants. The empirically based pattern matches with the predicted one, and the findings can be generalized on other refugee housing types (Yin, 2003).

**Results**

In the ITS, basic and precarious structures of 'temporary' shelters have evolved into permanent dwellings (Fig. 1). Building structure is still made of wood studs, but has been reinforced with half walls of hollow concrete blocks. The possibility of manipulating the structure allowed refugees to create multiple and interconnecting rooms with wood separations and doors, organized according to their daily needs and to their culture. In fact, for more privacy, latrines initially located outdoors are integrated with-

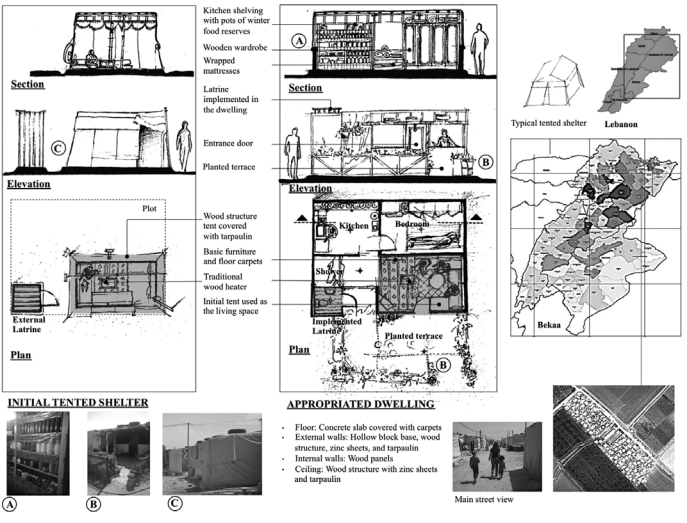


Fig. 1. Space appropriation in ITS. Lebanon (source: K. Faten, 2016).

in the dwelling, and a secondary entrance is created for women, which allows the to access interior space without crossing the main room, traditionally reserved for men. Small gardens and planted terraces with pots of flowers are frequently created. Interior spaces are often tidy and furnished like modest permanent houses. Carpets lie on the floor, and walls are covered with shelves, decorations and accessories. Pots of *Mouneh*[2] are aligned on kitchen shelves, enhancing the impression of stability, security, and wellbeing. Due to their employment in the agriculture fields, refugees feel empowered and dignified. Their good financial situation enables them to invest in their dwellings and improve them. The care devoted to space organization and interior design manifests a strong sense of identity and place attachment developed by residents.

[2] Food reserve for the winter.

However, it is important to note that inequalities exist and that not all shelters evolved in the same way. We actually noticed that the most developed dwellings belong to the *shaweesh*[3] and his close family.

In the OC, the camp manager, appointed by the UR-DA, allows refugees to apply changes in their living spaces. Given the large number of family members and the preference for extended families, refugees' main problems are overpopulation and lack of intimacy in the small and single-room shelters. Moreover, prefabricated units are heavy and difficult to move or to reorient. Their rigid structure makes it difficult to divide them into several smaller spaces with different functions. In most cases, refugees create additional spaces in front or behind the units, with zinc panels, plastic sheets, textiles and any other materials available (Fig. 2). When located in the front, new spaces must be used to access the initial shelter. If it is placed behind, it is accessible from a different entrance outside the main shelter. In both cases, the living space is neither hospitable nor practical, especially given the Bekaa's harsh weather, and the cultural and religious traditions, which often imply a separation between men and women. When shelters are constructed using concrete blocks, space appropriation is even more challenging. Some transformations are noticeable inside the units: Refugees apply new colors on the walls, they install shelves and basic furniture, and they characterize the space by marking it with personal items. Water fountains and pots of flowers add a lively touch outside some of the shelters.

[3] Leader in an informal camp.

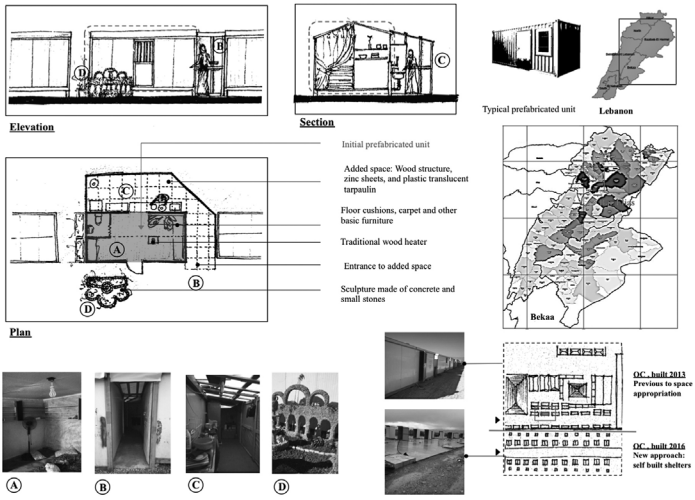


Fig. 2. Space appropriation in OC. Lebanon (Kikano Faten, 2015).

## Conclusion

Studies show that most refugee situations become protracted. Yet, for political, economic and social reasons, places of refuge are still conceived on the basis of a limited temporality. These places are often culturally unfit, and unsuitable for climate. However, despite legal, institutional and socio-economic difficulties, refugees often appropriate their living spaces. The cases that we examined validate our hypothesis about the impact of physical factors on space appropriation in places of refuge. We find that flexibility of the structure, refugees' practical know-how and control over the space, and availability of resources enhance space appropriation, and allow residents to create suitable living environments. In fact, tents in the ITS, despite their precariousness, are easy to reshape and to develop into multi-room dwellings that are adapted to refugees' daily activities, and their socio-cultural aspirations. Moreover, tents are quick to mount, and do

not pose the same time, cost and supply problems as with prefabricated shelters. Refugees nurture towards their new living places a sense of attachment, identity and belonging. Livelihood opportunities and social acceptance from the host community represent an additional positive factor for a significant space appropriation. In contrast, prefabricated shelters in OC are rigid designs difficult to adapt. When needed, additive spaces are created and attached to the initial structure, but the outcome is often unsatisfactory in terms of comfort and privacy.

In a new OC, next to the one we studied, mistakes are being corrected: NGOs are building basic tented shelters with an external latrine, and refugees are given the necessary materials to develop them according to their household's specific needs. Upcoming studies on space appropriation in residential building apartments, where refugees encounter very limited possibilities in applying transformations to living spaces will further validate our results. Finally, our findings can serve as a learning basis for future designs of places of refuge. They put in question the 'one fits all' approach, and the ongoing design of costly and unfit prefabricated shelters created and funded by humanitarian organizations.

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THE OBJECTIVE IS NOT ONLY TO RECONSTRUCT BUILDINGS BUT TO REBUILD A SOCIETY AND RESHAPE IT (THE SOCIOLOGICAL DIMENSION BEING ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION, REGARDING BOTH THE LOCALS AND INTERNAL MIGRANTS) AND THUS ALSO TO REPAIR THE NON-MATERIAL DAMAGES OF THE WAR.

Claude Yacoub

# MA'ARAT AL NUMAN: THE RESILIENCE OF A SYRIAN CITY AT WAR
# TRAINING SPECIALISTS IN RECONSTRUCTION: UNIVERSITÉ POPULAIRE SYRIENNE

**Abstract**

The Syrian city of Ma'arat al Numan, a symbol of countless legendary stories of conquest and liberation, was one of the first cities to participate in the popular democratic uprising of March 2011. 'Liberated' in October 2012, today 70% of the city lies in ruins, having lost a large part of its population and almost all of its infrastructure and public buildings.

Thanks to the action of local coordinating committees, neighborhood associations and NGOs, be it locals or 'internal migrants' coming in from other cities ravaged by the war (such as Aleppo), the population is trying as well as possible to rebuild, confronting the immensity of human loss and destruction with pitifully limited means.

Our association — Ila Souria — has been working for over two years towards the launch of a pilot center of the Université Populaire Syrienne (Syrian Popular University or Syrian Adult Education*) in Ma'arat al Numan. For more than a year we've been engaged in training reconstruction specialists in architecture, urban planning and sustainable reconstruction, using these experiences in the city to refine the approach. This training is part of a

project called 'Tahdir', initiated by the European Union. We're partners in the project, along with the Olof Palme International Center in Stockholm, and the Arab Reform Initiative in Paris.

**Keywords**
Education, pedagogy, reconstruction, resilience, Syria.

**Introduction**

Since the fall of 2014, when we carried out a field visit to make contacts and scout locations, our association, Ila Souria (For Syria) has been working to make a very modest contribution to the city of Ma'arat al Numan.

Through our association's activities, linked to our participation in the Tahdir project, we've engaged as many issues as we could, and attempted to find solutions to them, advancing step by step through a landscape of difficult human, contextual and political challenges. All this in a context of a highly remodelled population, a mix between the historic inhabitants that remained there despite the destruction, those who left but are coming back little by little and a high density of Syrian migration and displaced persons running away from even harsher war zones that came to take refuge in this city and settled in it.

Is this the moment to talk about reconstruction? How can we talk about reconstruction when war is still raging in Syria? Why is it so important to think about reconstruction now? When do we begin to rebuild? What would be the right time and conditions for reconstruction? What and how do we rebuild? With whom do we rebuild?

These questions affirm the focus of our approach, which

is above all — despite some understandable scepticism — a humanitarian act: urgent, crucial and (very) long term.

**Project with three components: Ila Souria, Tahdir and Ma'arat al Numan**

*Ila Souria and the Université Populaire Syrienne*

Ila Souria is a non-profit association, founded in February 2013 with the purpose of organizing events for the reconstruction of Syria and workshops to exchange knowledge and creative perspectives, producing publications for these events, etc.

As of this writing, Syria has been plunged into a relentless and multi-faceted war for nearly six years. The war has annihilated or displaced a large part of its population and ravaged entire sections of its natural and urban landscapes. In the face of so much devastation, we can't afford to simply wait for the outcome of this very complex conflict. We must immediately begin to address the questions of the material, social and psychological reconstruction of this millennia-old country, first and foremost as educators.

Events organized by Ila Souria | Three multi-disciplinary and international symposia and round-table discussions

The first symposium, ilasouria.01 was titled "Syria: reconstructions, physical and non-material? — the state of things", and included five sessions: "Archeology & heritage", "Architecture & urban planning", "State, civil society: issues", "Intellectual reconstruction" and "What is Syria's immediate political future?".

Ilasouria.02 focussed on its main theme "past experiences of cities (countries) with reconstruction", and experiences

on the ground in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haiti, Lebanon, Iraq and New Zealand.

We also held roundtable discussions in June 2014 to consider the following question: how is the revolution and the ongoing upheaval shaking up people's relationship to heritage and freeing-up their creativity, and how do religions interfere with politics?

Finally, ilasouria.03, co-organized by Ila Souria and the Modern Secular Democratic Syria Association discussed three themes: "Psychological impacts, external trauma and resilience", "Experiences of reconstruction" in educational projects in Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina and "Public involvement in Syria".

*Université Populaire Syrienne* (Syrian Popular University) — Flagship project of our association

Our association has been working for more than two years to found and develop a *Université Populaire Syrienne*, a space of resilience and shared exploration. Our aim is to respond to the urgent demands for knowledge and the current deficits in educational infrastructure with a new approach for Syria: participatory citizen education, accessible to all.

The Université Populaire operates in different locations such as Syrian refugee camps in neighboring countries and 'liberated' territories — places where the educational deficit is overwhelming. The teaching activities of the Université Populaire take four main forms:

- Practical knowledge, with knowledge transfer intended for populations facing precarious situations.
- Discussions on unifying themes such as citizenship, democracy, feminism, etc.

- University support for students and teachers who don't or who no longer benefit from academic structures.
- Pedagogical training based on the forward thinking of educators, human rights activists and advocates of the *Universités populaires*.

Training of facilitators | To lay the basis for the *Université Populaire Syrienne*, we have begun training about twenty of our 'signatories' — a group of nearly 300 people worldwide — committed to contributing their time and unique abilities to building a strong foundation for the project. The main objective of our training process is to encourage participants to gain a solid understanding of the basic principles of Popular Education and to embrace the role of popular educator. Training is intended to prepare facilitators who will go into the field (in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan) to conduct workshops in Popular Education.

*Université Populaire Syrienne* Citizen Cafés

Between May 2015 and September 2016, we held 10 UPS Citizen Cafés — events which facilitated constructive exchanges between UPS signatories and guests. Here are some themes addressed at these evenings:

- Creation of an MOOC (Massive Open Online Course) devoted to journalism.
- Condition of the sites and monitoring: how to protect the Syrian archaeological heritage taken hostage?
- "Maison de Palmyre" project (site of education and cultural activities).
- How to live in and rebuild Syria together, with culture as a unifying element.

Actions on the ground | The various components of Ila Souria that we've just reviewed (and not exhaustively) have been experienced in different contexts: at the Al Salam school in Reyhanli and with the Un Rêve Syrien (A Syrian Dream) association in Antakia in Turkey; in the Za'atari Syrian refugee camp in Jordan (academic conferences and a workshop in humanitarian design) and in Ma'arat al Numan in Syria (to be discussed later in this article).

*Tahdir*

Tahdir — a phonetic transcription of an Arabic word meaning 'preparation' — is the name of a call for projects launched by the European Union in May 2014. The proposal request highlighted these key words: Syria; Afterwards; Reconstruction; Education. When we were asked to participate by the Arab Reform Initiative Association, we offered to contribute our domains of expertise: architecture and urban planning. The proposal was submitted in September 2014. We finally received a positive response from Brussels in September 2015, for a project slated to begin in January 2016 and to run for a duration of 32 months, financed by the European Union and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This Tahdir project addresses five fields of study. We'll deal only with the one that concerns us directly — providing university training for Syrian men and women in three domains: local administration, law and security sector reform and architecture and urban planning. It consists of three groups:

- An eight-member scientific committee, which meets four times a year and oversees the overall program implementation process.
- A structured project management team with 14 people who ensure its implementation (led by a small team in Stockholm and a core group in Paris).
- Three two-person teams that develop, plan and manage the courses. Each team consists of a project manager and an assistant responsible for direct contact with trainees in their respective fields.

The Arab Reform Initiative took responsibility for the first two domains cited while our association, Ila Souria: "Architecture and urban planning: sustainable reconstruction", handled the training sessions. Our first face-to-face was held with students in Gaziantep in Turkey while two others took place online using a suitable Web platform.

*Ma'arat al Numan*

Ma'arat al-Numan is a town in the north-west of Syria, in the province of Idleb, between Aleppo and Hama. Covering an area of 2,318 square kilometers, it had 70,000 inhabitants in 2010 and saw that number fall to 15,000 in 2014, after three years of conflict. Today, in response to a precarious lull in the conflict, its population has rebounded to 30,000 city dwellers. Including a non negligible portion of the new population that we allow ourselves to refer to as 'internal migrants'. Meaning Syrians that left cities and villages completely destroyed by war: in the provinces more to the East such as Aleppo and Raqqa.

With one of the richest histories in Syria, Ma'arat al Nu-

Fig. 1. Ma'arat al Numan, Province of Idleb, Syria (photo: unknown author).

man flourished under many different civilizations including Muslim, Byzantine, Crusader, Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman, finally gaining its independence at the end of the French protectorate in 1946. The city is also known as the birthplace of the illustrious poet Abu al-'Ala al-Ma`arî — a legacy which still brings it literary fame throughout the Arab world. It's a prosperous city with a substantial built heritage, important government buildings and public institutions (at least for what they once were) and rich surrounding agricultural areas.

The destruction inflicted on the city is massive, as illustrated by a disturbing set of percentages: 30% of the civil service buildings, 70% of the registered structures, 80% of the Palais de Justice, 60% of the electric company, 35% of the water company, 60% of city administration facilities. Towering over these numbers is the destruction of virtually all school facilities and an exorbitant number of dwellings. Thanks to the action of local coordinating committees, neighborhood associations and NGOs, the population is

trying as well as possible to rebuild, confronting the immensity of human loss and destruction with pitifully limited means.

Our association — Ila Souria — has been working for over two years towards the launch of a pilot center of the *Université Populaire Syrienne* in Ma'arat al Numan. For more than a year we've been engaged in training reconstruction specialists in architecture, urban planning and sustainable reconstruction, using the city as a testing ground.

**Training in "Architecture and urban planning, sustainable development"**

*Content*

The first 5-week training session took place in April and May 2015 in the city of Gaziantep in Turkey. The session was attended by ten Syrian trainees (nine architects and one civil engineer, including five from Syria and five syrian refugees in Turkey), supervised by seven lecturers who shared the workload during this very intense period. Training took place five to six days a week with theoretical classes in the mornings and project workshops in the afternoon (all conducted in Arabic).

Pursuing a main objective of detailing and completing the training of architecture and urban planning graduates in the field of reconstruction and sustainable development, the trainees followed the program offered by the seven lecturers (people whose identities must remain confidential, along with those of the trainees). The architects, urban planners and researchers contributing to the program came from Canada, France, Switzerland, Syria and Turkey.

Lecturer 1 | Sustainable development: introduction to a second type of utopia — Project management — Université Populaire & reconstruction — Humanitarian design.

Lecturer 2 | Reconstruction and resilience — Vulnerability and sustainable development — A theoretical approach to and case studies of temporary and permanent post-conflict reconstruction.

Lecturers 3 and 4 | Reconstruction of the city after the war: visions, plans, strategies, policies and tools — Participation of the population in the reconstruction of cities (during and after the war) — Post-war reconstruction models.

Lecturers 5 and 6 | Introduction to a water strategy for Syria — Water resources management, during and after the conflict.

Lecturer 7 | The role of culture and cultural heritage in the reconstruction process — Socio-anthropological research in the reconstruction phase.

Through this program, trainees have been prepared for jobs as research managers, reconstruction project managers, project assistants, etc. All of these profiles are intended for use in multiple reconstruction situations.

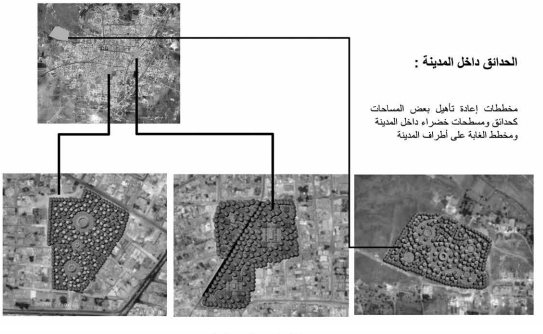
*Trainee projects*

The 10 trainees in this first training course in Turkey began their projects during the workshop sessions in mid-April and continued at a distance until mid-July 2015. Participants submitted six projects on five themes: Heritage, Urban Master Planning, Housing, Schools, and Sustainable Reconstruction. The scope of this article only

## Project 1
### “Phoenix”- Belonging - Heart of the city

البدء بإعادة تأهيل ساحة مركزية لتكون مكان للنقاش المجتمعي بخصوص عملية إعادة الاعمار
وضع مجسمات قابلة للتغير في وسط الساحة وتوثيق النتائج بالصور وعرضها

## Project 2.2
### “Correlation”- Urban Planning




## Project 3
### “Doors”- Temporary and permanent housing

أين التدخل؟

تقوم دراستنا الحالية ضمن عملية إعادة الإعمار داخل المدينة، على جزء من منطقة المعرة والتي تعد المعرة القديمة.
وتضم هذه المنطقة أهم المراكز التاريخية في المعرة، كالجامع الكبير و الخانات و قبر أبي العلاء المعري، والمركز الثقافي
حلبا.
و تعرضت هذه المنطقة لدمار كبير في المرحلة الأخيرة


Figg. 2-4. three projects presented during the workshops (images: various authors).

permits us to show you a few images that are far from reflecting the scope of the trainees' work (required for each project: a 30-page document and a slideshow of 50 slides).

**Next Steps**

Two online courses | Two online courses, with about thirty trainees per domain, are planned. The second training session began in mid-January 2017 and will continue with 25 participants over a period of six months. The third and final training session will begin in early summer 2017 and will run until the beginning of 2018. These training courses follow the outline developed during the first session in Turkey.

A study center in Ma'arat al Numan | The study center is due to open during the first half of 2017, with a team of two people sharing responsibility for assisting trainees who want to work at the site. The center will also organize evening discussions at the city's cultural center, with talks focussed on our three domains of training and related issues raised by Ila Souria — the center's main facilitator.

Study tours in Europe for the trainees | A visit will be organized in Europe for a selection of trainees from the first two training sessions to study sites such as Dresden in Germany, Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Le Havre in France.

We have already selected four trainees from the first training session and we'll be selecting the same number of candidates from the second session. These trips will take place in early 2018 and the trainees will be supervised by local professionals.

**Conclusion**

The reconstruction of Syria, whatever the 'ultimate' political scenario, will take decades. We're very conscious that our initiative is merely a drop in the bucket, relative to the immensity of the task ahead. Yet this modest initiative has its place, for it is indeed through the sum of an unlimited number of 'small' projects that this country will one day be able to get back on its feet and envision new landscapes, both human and built.

The objective is not only to reconstruct buildings (as in Ma'arat al Numan) but to rebuild a society and reshape it (the sociological dimension being one of the most important aspects to take into consideration, regarding both the locals and internal migrants) and thus also to repair the non-material damages of the war. Through the Tahdir project and other activities of Ila Souria, our preliminary role is to define as much as possible the new foundations on which we can work together to advance ethical and sustainable planning.

We are convinced that to meet this objective, these new approaches to teaching future architects, educators and students — as well as the civilian population — are essential. It's precisely this population — the general public — who are the people we need to work with, the basic tenet of Popular Education.

Every day that passes we gain a deeper appreciation of the immensity of the task we are undertaking and the absolute urgency of our mission to inspire the new generations who will rebuild Syria — our Syria!

TIME HAS ARRIVED FOR TAKING THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PRESERVE LIVEABLE CONDITIONS ON EARTH AND ARCHITECTS HAVE A KEY ROLE IN THE REDUCTION OF $CO_2$ EMISSIONS IN THE BUILDING SECTOR BY CHANGING THE WAY BUILDINGS ARE DESIGNED AND OPERATED.

Mariana Abrunhosa Pereira

# DISPARITIES AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES OUR COMMON HOME, OUR COMMON FUTURE

**Abstract**
Forced displacements due to climate disasters have been increasing significantly, calling for the challenge of a more conscious use of resources. Pope Francis wrote the encyclical on the environment *On Care For Our Common Home* focusing on the relationship between poverty, climate disasters, consumerism and the need of a behavioral change. Concerning the construction of our common territory, in this text we aim to address the access to resources, environmental concerns related to energy in housing and measures we can adopt as architects and urban planners for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions which are the drivers of extreme climate disasters.

**Keywords**
Common home, energy sufficiency, energy use, architects' responsibility.

## Our Common Home. Access to resources and environmental concerns in a 'liquid' space

In an increasingly interconnected world, migrations have been raising significantly. In 2000, 173 million people

were migrants, increasing to 244 million in 2015 (UN, 2016, p. 5). We live in a 'liquid' territory covered by a floating human layer moving in several directions, sometimes softly but often forced. In referring to fast contemporary mutations, Z. Bauman used the concept of 'liquid modernity' in which change is the only permanence and uncertainty is the only certainty (Bauman, 2000). At both the global and local scales, this 'liquid' world is a common territory, requiring a healthy, inclusive, safe space and respecting shared resources.

In 2008, around 20 million people were displaced due to climate disasters, surpassing the 4.6 million people displaced by violence and conflicts. Estimations to 2050 foresee that around 200 million people will be forced to leave their homes, in the sequence of environmental disasters such as droughts, storms, shoreline erosions and floods (Laczko, Aghazarm, 2009).

Across the world, many power stations burn fossil fuels for the generation of energy vectors. When fossil fuels are burnt, carbon dioxide and other GHG are released into the atmosphere resulting in the increase of global temperatures. As stated in the Oxfam Report *Extreme Carbon Inequality*, while the 10% world's richest population account for about 50% of all greenhouse gas emissions, the poorest 50% of the population is responsible for only 10% (Gore, 2015).

The countries that consume less energy and less contribute to GHG, located in Africa and in some areas of the South America and South Asia, are also the most vulnerable to extreme climate impacts because they have fewer resources to adapt: socially, financially and technological-

ly (UNFCCC, 2007). These countries are already suffering from the impacts of climate change and projections suggest an aggravation of severe weather events that cause large number of population movements and displacements. The new challenges posed by the increasing frequency of extreme events, land degradation, loss of biodiversity, water scarcity and collapsing of agricultural yields will only be possible with a cooperation between north and south and a more conscious behaviour on the energy use. In the eighties, the Brundtland Commission discussed the responsibility of each generation for the future generations' access to resources (WCED, 1987). More recently, in the light of the current environmental context, Pope Francesco wrote an encyclical launching an alert to the need of taking care of our common home (Pope Francesco, 2015). While the Brundtland report addressed mainly the element 'time', Pope's encyclical deeply approached the environmental issues at the level of the 'space/place'. Francesco reflected on the inequality between the north and the south on access to resources as well as on climate change. According to Francesco, equality will only be achieved through a logic of solidarity and a twofold intervention of the richest countries

> significantly limiting their consumption of non-renewable energy and by assisting poorer countries to support policies and programs of sustainable development. The poorest areas and countries are less capable of adopting new models for reducing environmental impact because they lack the wherewithal to develop the necessary processes and to cover their costs. We must continue to be aware that, regarding climate change, there are differentiated responsibilities. (Pope Francesco, 2015, p. 38)

The expression 'Our common home, our common future' addresses the complementary aforementioned envisioning of urban development. By considering a holistic perspective, it expresses the desire of a fair distribution of resources as well as the establishment of limits to present consumption that may nurture the expectation of a common future.

**Our Common Home. The use of energy**

Following the Intergovernmental Panel for the Climate Change, the IPCC, the building sector constitutes a key sector for $CO_2$ mitigation, with more cost-effective potential (Bernstein et al., 2007). Thereby, architects have the responsibility of contributing for the $CO_2$ emissions reduction due to the building sector by planning, designing and positively influence the built environment.

Data about the energy use in housing (EU, 1990-2004) suggests that energy pathways cannot rely only on technological solutions, since the growth of energy efficiency can stimulate energy consumption (Calwell, 2010): on one hand a reduction has been verified in the use of energy per dwelling, due to better thermal insulation and more efficient electrical appliances; on the other hand, the energy consumption in housing is increasing — people have more and larger houses, with more appliances and interior temperatures are kept to higher standards of desired comfort. Therefore houses and appliances are increasingly more efficient, but also more in quantity, annulling part of the contribution of energy efficiency. Jevons described this phenomenon as the rebound effect, to which we will always be vulnerable while dependent

on technology. Ultimately, current standards of comfort should be guaranteed, while imposing limits on consumption (Smil, 2010, p. 717).

In this sense, the challenge of reducing energy consumption should be settled not only in the supply but also in the energy demand; not only on technology but also on the users' behavior. The increase of rebound effects has evidenced the need for an alternative to energy efficiency called energy sufficiency (Princen, 2005). According to the IPCC, "Energy indicators relate to efficiency, but rarely to sufficiency" (Lucon et al., 2014, p. 722);

> Complementary to eco-efficiency in production, sustainable development strategies may need to support sufficiency in consumption, shifting from a culture of consumerism without limits to a society with less materialistic aspirations. (Edenhofer et al., 2014, p. 388)

The International Energy Agency refers solutions for the building envelope addressing concerns of energy sufficiency in Architecture. It is suggested that sufficiency in Architecture has been neglected and that we are not taking advantage of the potential of the buildings adaptation to the climate:

> Energy sufficiency measures include requirements for the orientation of the building vis-a-vis the sun, its form, volume, placement with respect to surrounding buildings, and general daylight and sunshine requirements based on bio-climatic design principles. In IEA countries, where three-quarters of today's buildings stock will still be standing by 2050, the implementation of energy sufficiency measures to the envelope is generally limited to adapting the colour of roofs and walls to suit the local climate. (Saheb, 2013, p. 10)

Converging with the energy sufficiency logic, Pope Francesco refers

> We need to take up an ancient lesson […]. It is the conviction that 'less is more' and adds the need of "a growth marked by moderation and the capacity to be happy with little". (Pope Francesco, 2015, p. 162)

**The action of the architect and the urban planner in the construction of Our Common Home, our Common Future**

In 2010 buildings accounted for 32% of total global final energy use, 19% of energy-related GHG emissions (Lucon et al., 2014). Architects and urban planners have the responsibility of contributing to the mitigation of GHG emissions, both in emergent economies and in the developed countries.

This holistic challenge for architects can be levelled in five approaches:

- respect by resources and local materials;
- building adaptation to climate;
- use of renewable sources of energy;
- design of environmental conscious public spaces, that shall be simultaneously social inclusive;
- availability of measures for energy use reduction to the building occupant, that shall shape occupants' behaviours.

The first approach addresses the respect to local resources and places' identity, through the choice of local materials over the imported ones. The second addresses 'climate responsive buildings' whose careful solutions for thermal inertia, thermal insulation, useful solar gains, shading and

Figg. 1-2. Renewal of a brownfield — before and after, Parque das Nações. Lisboa, Portugal (source: SkyscraperCity).

ventilation since the early phases of building design can be a robust departing point for the design of low energy, comfortable and healthy buildings. The third approach is the use of renewable sources, retrieving energy from the powers of the wind and the Sun. The fourth addresses the design of the space between buildings which can favours the creation of microclimates, such as for instance the use of vegetation, taking also into account in case of public spaces, that urban design can and shall contribute to the construction of an open, inclusive and common territory. The fifth concerns the contribution of the promotion of energy conscious behaviours. For instance, through the design of flexible devices, such as shading devices that can be adjusted throughout the day, attending to solar radiation or through the distribution of guidelines to users with all the information of the building occupation but also of the equipment inside the building.

Two examples of sustainable renewal are presented in two

Fig. 3. Green Tower, Parque das Nações, Lisboa. Portugal (photo: LiderA).

different contexts: Parque das Nações in Lisbon, Portugal, and the community of Lajedos in Santo Antão island, in Cape Verde.

The Parque das Nações urban renewal departed from the refurbishment of a degraded industrial urban area. The site was previously occupied by an oil refinery (Fig. 1). The preparation of the site, the decontamination of water and soil, the urban design according to climate conscious principles as careful choice of building orientation, the choice of materials, the use of a district heating and cooling system and the vegetation near buildings were some of the principles that ruled the urban design (Fig. 2). Some buildings such as Green Tower took advantage of careful design choices regarding thermal inertia, thermal insulation, shading, ventilation, glazing size and orientation (Fig. 3). Besides, guidelines for energy conscious use were distributed to occupants to optimize energy use.

Lajedos in Cape Verde is a project from the NGO Atelier MAR that evolves the local community and experts in rural development, in a participatory approach for building,

Figg. 4-5. Lajedos, a remote community in the island of Santo Antão. Cape Verde. Communal workshop for blocks production; photovoltaics panels that generate electricity for several buildings of the community
(photos: M. Pereira and Â. Lopes — Atelier Mar).

planning and responding to common needs (Figg. 4-5). The local people are planners and the researchers are facilitators.The valorization of local resources and the use of endogenous materials are some of the principles for the built environment.

**Final remarks**

All the territory is a 'liquid' space covered by a floating human layer moving in several directions sometimes softly but often forced. Human activities that rely on the burning of fossil fuels are triggering global warming, affecting all of us and contributing to situations of forced migration. Time has arrived for taking the necessary measures to preserve liveable conditions on earth and architects have a key role in the reduction of $CO_2$ emissions in the building sector by changing the way buildings are designed and operated. Pope Francesco was inspired by the writings of Romano Guardini to write *Our care for our common home*. In 1920's, Guardini had remarked in *Letters of Lake Como* that:

> The homes being built were not only larger, but more 'aggressive', indifferent to the surrounding environment, no longer accommodating themselves to the natural setting.

> And the motor-driven boats on the lake were no longer moving in rhythm with the waves, but rather cutting through them indifferently. (Guardini, 1994)

Almost one hundred years passed and the challenge of the reduction of energy use is delayed for an uncertain future indifferent to the erosion of our common home and our common future. The investment in technology for more energy efficiency is not enough. Only very significant changes in consumption patterns may sharply reduce the use of energy.

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SPACE MAY PLAY THE ROLE OF FACILITATOR […] THUS REQUIRES A STRONGER INVESTMENT IN STRUCTURAL POLICIES, NAMELY INTO ENSURING THE RIGHT TO THE CITY THROUGH EFFECTIVE ACCESS TO HOUSING AND THROUGH PUBLIC SPACES THAT ARE ADAPTED TO DIFFERENT AGES, BACKGROUNDS AND ASPIRATIONS, PROMOTING SOCIAL INTERACTION AND DIALOGUE

Ana Silva Fernandes

# PORTUGUESE MIGRATIONS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, TRENDS AND INTEGRATION

**Abstract**
Migrations may be analysed as movements of population, but also as processes of (re)construction of individual and collective identities, through a dynamic reconfiguration and addition of affiliations, in which space plays a significant role both in the reflection of bonds, and as a tool for inclusion. Thus, by focusing on the international migrations from and to Portugal, this paper aims to present an overview upon movements and trends, to analyse their impact in the built environment — their symbolic value and representations, the construction of bonds at arrival and at distance, the integration and the transformations —, as well as to discuss how policies and actions may contribute to improve inclusion.

**Keywords**
Migration, Portugal, integration.

## Migrations in Portugal: a brief overview on outflows and inflows

With just a few periods of exception, Portugal has had a stronger tradition of emigration rather than of immigra-

tion. In a general overview on demography in Portugal throughout time, the natural growth has been steadily decreasing for the last decades, with a significant reduction of the birth rate. Migration was negative until 1974 — during the period of dictatorship in Portugal —, meaning a relevant loss of population in search of better living conditions. With the implementation of democracy and the independence of former colonies, the flow changed radically, especially due to a peak of massive inflow of population from those territories. More recently, losses and gains of population have been oscillating slightly (Fig. 1), showing a dynamic background of moving populations, of new relations and motivations.

**Portuguese diaspora: emigration, bonds, distance, return**

The Portuguese diaspora has shown different patterns throughout time, in terms of scale, locations and expectations. Up to 1950, the most recurrent destination of the emigrants was mainly Brazil, though places like the United States and some countries in Europe were also often chosen (Pires, 2010).

Between 1950 and 1974, the last years of the dictatorial regime in Portugal, and responding to economic difficulties, the outflow of population was especially intense. Within that period of slightly over two decades, almost one million Portuguese emigrated to France — the most recurrent destination at the time (Pires, 2010) —, where the conditions of life and settling were often of visible deprivation, especially in Paris.

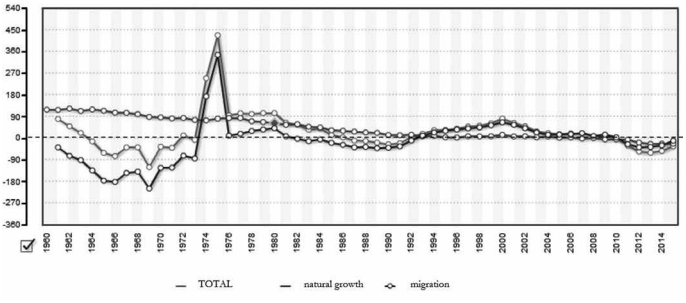


Fig. 1. Annual population natural growth and net migration (thousands of people) in Portugal, between 1960 and 2014 (source: PORDATA, INE).

*A massive inflow from former colonies*

Following the 1974 revolution that put an end to the dictatorial regime in Portugal and allowed the independence of former African colonies, in just a few months more than one million people left these overseas territories to settle in Portugal, which at that moment had roughly eight million inhabitants.

This movement had an intense impact in the territory, and especially in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, thus intensifying the urban pressures and presenting a vast challenge regarding the conditions for settling and inclusion of the newcomers. In fact, in a context of political turmoil of this post-revolutionary period and of economic difficulties and housing deficit inherited from the previous regime, the State had extreme difficulties in providing social support, especially in ensuring access to housing.

Temporary responses were provided for the newcomers, yet these solutions were clearly insufficient. The intense inflow increased the demand and the shortage of adequate solutions, aggravating friction amongst different social groups. Even though they were called 'retornados' —

the 'returned' —, some of the newcomers had been born and had always lived in Africa, so they were not returning but rather running away (Matos, 2010). The process of social and spatial inclusion ended up being quite demanding and long.

*Recent trends of Portuguese emigration*

Nowadays, in a context of economic crisis and intense raise of the unemployment rate, Portugal is the country of the European Union with a larger diaspora in proportion to the resident population, with the number of Portuguese emigrants exceeding two million. Between 2010 and 2013, the number of Portuguese emigrants grew by more than 50%. In 2013, the unemployment rate was above 16% and the youth unemployment rate reached 38%. In 2013 and 2014, the number of people leaving the country stabilised in around 110,000 people per year.

Recent trends in the outflow of Portuguese population show greater affluence especially to the United Kingdom, Switzerland and France. Additionally, some of the former Portuguese colonies — such as Angola and Mozambique — have been the destination of migration due to the construction boom of the first years of the present century, which attracted technicians and workers from different countries, namely from Portugal, but that has been strongly decreasing in the past few years (Peixoto et al., 2016).

Nowadays, the larger communities of Portuguese population outside their homeland are located especially in France and in other European countries, but also in Brazil, the United States and Canada, along with Angola and Mozambique (Pires, 2010). Amongst the Portuguese em-

igrants there is a prevalence of individuals with low and very low qualifications, even though the number of qualified emigrants has progressively increased. For instance, in 2010/11, only 19% of the active emigrants who had been born in Portugal had qualified jobs (such as managers or technicians) — despite the huge disparities observed amongst countries (Peixoto et al., 2016).

*Expectations, bonds at distance and their spatial impact*

Besides the gains and losses of population, these flows represent the creation, maintenance and transformation of bonds of identity, and the impact of these movements not only in the places where the population arrives to, but also at the homeland — representing a 'double presence'[1]. Thus, international migrations are not just a question of leaving or staying, but rather of settling in different places, building bonds and maintaining them, even if at physical distance.

Remittances[2] are one important part of the maintenance of bonds at distance. And while part of the remittances are described as providing family support at homeland, there is also a significant portion being sent back as personal savings, probably indicating the reac-

[1] This expression establishes the opposition to the idea of 'double absence' presented by Abdelmalek Sayad (2000) in addressing the dilemmas and difficulties faced by migrants.

[2] In 2014, there was a record amount of remittances received in Portugal: over three thousand million euros, which corresponds to around 1.9% of gross domestic product (GDP). Far more is received in Portugal than sent by immigrants (Peixoto, Oliveira, Azevedo et al., 2016). France and Switzerland remain the source of more than half of the remittances received in Portugal (29% and 27% of the total, respectively), with high values also from Angola, for instance.

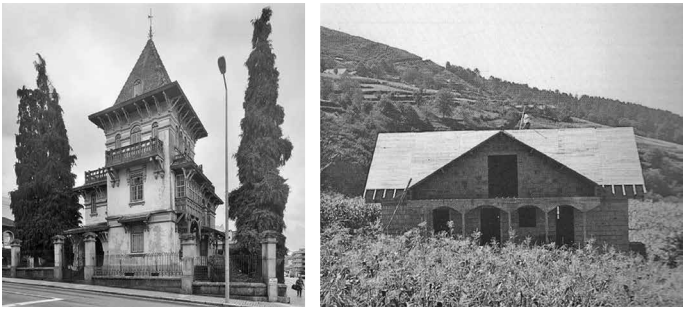

Fig. 2. Houses built by Portuguese emigrants at homeland, showing influences from the territories they lived in: (a) the 'Brazilian' Houses', built by the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, by emigrants who gathered wealth in Brazil (source: Tavares, 2015); (b) 'dream houses', built during the last decades of the 20th century by emigrants working namely in France and Switzerland (source: Villanova et al., 1995).

tion in a context of uncertainty (Oliveira, Azevedo et al., 2015) or the wish and aspiration towards the return. The transformations of the built environment also take an important role: the constructions built for, or upon return also translate into a visible and built representation of the several affiliations that the owners gather throughout their life experience, shown through architectural hybrid references, with elements from different territories, as well as from representations of the imaginary (Fig. 2). One of such cases is the example of the so-called 'Brazilians' Houses' (Tavares, 2015), which were the houses built by Portuguese emigrants back in Portugal upon their return from Brazil, particularly at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. These houses, often of large scale and with impressive details, were not only a symbol of economic success abroad and social status, but also a testimony of the contact with different territories, climates and cultures, visible in the architecture of tropical influence brought into Europe.

More recently, there are further examples of constructions undertaken by emigrants back at their homeland: these 'dream houses' (Villanova et al., 1995) are more recurrent than the previous ones, and from different socioeconomic backgrounds, built by emigrants working especially in France or Switzerland, and thus incorporating elements and influences from those territories.

These houses, which are built with the savings that result from the years spent in foreign countries, aiming to invest back in the homeland, to support the family or to prepare for retirement, become symbols of a strong bond, and sometimes of a lifetime project.

**Immigrants in Portugal: inflow, expectations, integration**

Foreign population with legal status represents at the moment around 4% of the total of population living in Portugal, with a major increase in the inflow in the last decades, although it started shrinking after the impact of the economic crisis of 2008. The recent discussions on the integration of refugees in Europe might change that trend. Nonetheless, up to now only a few refugees have arrived, while broader social strategies and housing policies are still being discussed amongst central administration, municipalities, and associations.

Recent major inflows of immigrants have mainly stemmed from former Portuguese colonies, such as the lusophone African countries, as well as from Brazil and the Eastern Europe. Within Asia, the most recurrent origins are China, India and Pakistan. It is important to highlight that there is a visible prevalence of active adults and chil-

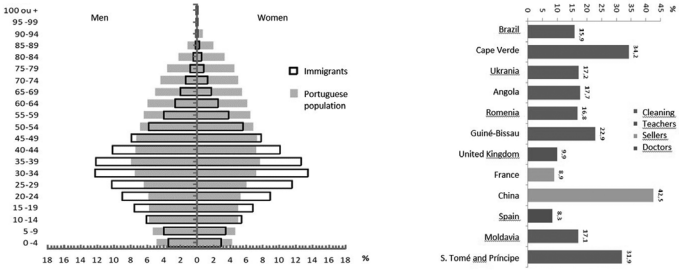


Fig. 3. Data on foreign population in Portugal in 2011:
(a) age; (b) main jobs according to nationality (source: INE, 2012).

dren amongst the immigrant population (Fig. 3), in a pattern which requires specific measures for inclusion, education, housing provision and the design of public space. A specific group of population from France, China and from other Asian countries often dedicate themselves to the activities connected with commerce, while many other nationalities often live on less qualified jobs.

*Spatial trends of foreign population living in Portugal*

Most immigrants concentrate in the area of Lisbon, the capital, as well as in the metropolitan area of Porto, the most populous and denser territories of the country. The South also attracts some immigrant population, especially due to the employment provided by the tourism sector. Taking the metropolitan area of Lisbon as an example, and without aiming to simplify complex realities, there may be some geographic patterns arising from cartographies (Fig. 4).

For instance, the population from Cape Verde and Guiné-Bissau, two African lusophone countries, show a higher incidence in the peripheral areas around the dens-

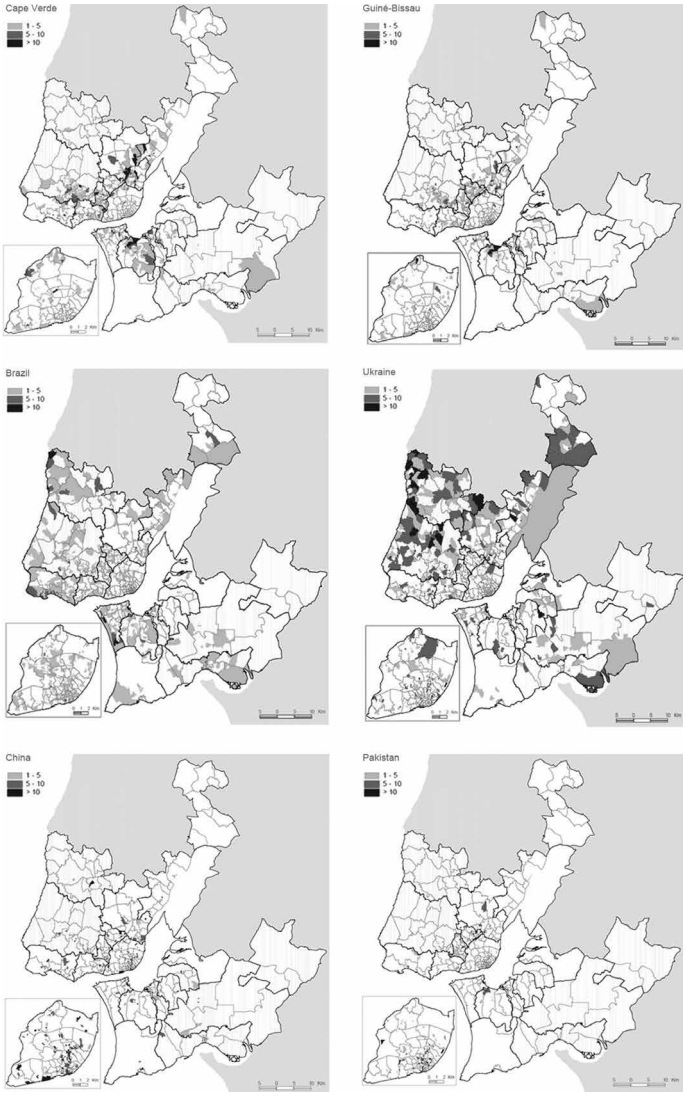


Fig. 4. Location and concentration of immigrants in the metropolitan area and in the central area of Lisbon, according to nationality, in 2011, namely from Cape-Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Brazil, Ukraine, China and Pakistan (source: Malheiros, 2016).

er urban cores, where regular housing is cheaper, as well as where social housing and informal settlement areas are often located, matching a recurrence of low-qualification urban jobs.

Quite differently, immigrants from Brazil and the Eastern Europe are spread, and are more visible farther away from the denser urban cores, in lower density areas, which might also be related with a recurrent work in agriculture and within smaller settlements.

As for immigrants from China and Pakistan, there is a pattern of intense concentration in specific areas of higher density urban cores, probably due to their strong relation especially with the activities of commerce and thus the need to settle in areas with intense dynamics and density.

Even though these geographical patterns do not synthetise the complexity of migration movements, it should also be highlighted that, besides the impact of the main activities undertaken by immigrants into defining their place for living and working, the network of settled immigrants plays an important role in the support and settling of newcomers of the same family, social networks, and nationality, tending to gather communities of similar affiliations, which might sometimes translate into geographic proximity or the perpetuation of spatial patterns.

*The space as a tool for integration*

These patterns may show recurrences and concentrations of specific groups, yet furthermore they highlight their spatial repercussion and thus the potential role of space as a tool for actively contributing to the integration of immigrants. And while the welfare mechanisms may be cru-

Fig. 5. The use and qualification of the public space as a tool for inclusion: (a) celebration at the end of Ramadan in Martim Moniz square, Lisbon (source: www.tumblr.com); (b) requalification of the Intendente square, a formerly degraded area in Lisbon (source: Público).

cial for providing responses to the basic needs — such as health, food and education —, it would also be important to move beyond assistance, into creating opportunities for the development of everyone's capacities. This would demand the strengthening of a common ground for dialogue amongst cultures, namely through reciprocity. As Amin Maalouf states,

> The more an immigrant feels that his own culture is respected, the more open he will be to the culture of the host country (Maalouf, 2000, p. 35)

a process in which the space may play the role of facilitator. The development of this potential would thus require a stronger investment in structural policies, namely into ensuring the right to the city through effective access to housing and through public spaces that are adapted to different ages, backgrounds and aspirations, promoting social interaction and dialogue (Fig. 5), as well as the qualification of degraded areas, alongside the control of gentrification and other spatial mechanisms of exclusion.

**Final Remarks**

To conclude, taking into account both the outflow and the inflow of population — and even though through a very brief overview on international migrations, trends, spatial repercussions and social integration — this paper aimed to discuss the role of space as an element which not only reflects identities and social interactions, but also actively shapes these dynamics.

Within this background, it also aimed to contribute to the debate on the potential and importance of the policies for the built environment — specially the access to housing and the improvement of the public space — into ensuring rights and bonds, the fulfilment of individual aspirations and into shaping a culture of inclusion within diversity.

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TO DEAL WITH CONTEMPORARY REALITY AND PROMOTE AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT DAY MIGRATION FLOWS, THAT EMPHASIZE EXISTING VULNERABILITIES AND TERRITORIAL ASYMMETRIES, IS ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE A CONSISTENT UNDERSTANDING UPON WHICH TO ACT ON THE TERRITORY OF URBANIZATION.

Teresa Calix

# TERRITORIAL ASYMMETRIES AND RESILIENCE IN PORTUGAL
# THE LOW DENSITY AREAS OF THE NORTHWEST

**Abstract**

This paper addresses the territorial effects of internal migrations in Portugal, explaining the disparities of Portuguese urban occupation and focusing on the Northwest region of the country that comprises the city of Porto and its urban conurbation. It starts with an overview on the physical characteristics of the dispersed model of urban occupation that characterizes this Portuguese region and goes on to explain the issues related to its particular socio-economic context. The present territorial condition is briefly enlightened through the sequence of main political changes and events that correspond to the arising and the institutionalization of the Democratic Welfare State. The expansion in number, in area and in diversity of the public services highly increased over the urban growth cycle that took place in the last decades of the twentieth century. This investment in new programmes and also in the maintenance of the existing ones dramatically changed with the current financial crisis. The increasing unemployment and the subsequent rise of new and significant flows of migration, followed by the emptying of public services and the state withdrawal in areas mostly deprived re-

inforced the territorial asymmetries already in place. The intensification of exodus takes place, particularly, in the depressed lower density areas, accentuating inequalities, leading to physical degradation and intensifying human segregation. Thus, recognizing the present day constraints the proposal to face this reality grounds on the concept of resilience and the related aptitude of being proactive and of recognizing and taking advantage of the inherent strengths or values of a particular territory. It is intended, ultimately, to question the present moment and the possible future of certain areas by stressing some ideas that are taken as consensual with regard to the dispersed occupation and particularly to the lower density urban areas.

**Keywords**
Territorial asymmetries, resilience, dispersed occupation, low density, migrations.

## Introduction

Although bearing in mind all the recent polemic surrounding international flows of migration and the importance of discussing a multiplicity of issues related to the adjustment of foreign immigrants to the place they choose to settle, this paper intends to address the topic on cities and regions that are resilient to change considering, however, the territorial effects of internal migrations in Portugal.

This approach to migration, in a territorial framework relatively absent from strong cultural antagonisms of any particular order (once people are moving within the

same country) allows us to explore other perspectives, probably less dramatic, but still related to this issue, namely the demographic emptying of places of origin and the cycle of consecutive losses that this process initiates. So, we will try to explain territorial asymmetries in Portugal, focusing on the Northwest region of the country where a continuous urban occupation is the background of a network polarized mainly by the city of Porto and its urban conurbation, and also by some medium size traditional cities. We will start, firstly, with a short overview on the understanding of this region trying to explain the physical characteristics of the dispersed model of urban occupation and briefly explaining the issues that relate to the socio-economic context that is reflected in its current framework.

And then, considering that resilience is, in a way, the ability of a particular territory to retain qualities, and by doing that promoting a certain kind of prosperity or well-being — or even mitigate some negative effects in the face of a perturbation caused by the loss of employment, of population, of public facilities, among many others that further encourage the emigration process — we will address this topic focusing on the use of resources and introducing some polemics to the debate by stressing some ideas that are taken as consensual regarding the dispersed occupation and the idea of depredation associated with it.

It is intended, ultimately, to question the present moment of certain territories in order to contribute to promote better strategies for their future.

**Territorial asymmetries and the Portuguese Northwest**

The reality of the Portuguese territory derives from a population unequally distributed throughout the national territory. This phenomenon, in which modern migrations have a determining role, follows several processes that overlap: deruralization, litoralisation and bipolarization, i.e. the abandonment of agriculture and the exit from rural areas, the establishment of a significant part of the Portuguese population in the coastal strip of the country and, within this area, the major settlement in two large cities and respective surrounding areas: Lisbon and Porto.

Though this process has begun much earlier, the urban growth and the increase of urban qualities of the last decades of the twentieth century reinforced the trend and widened the gap between the clear concentration of urban occupation that takes place near the coastline in a strip of land extending from the north of the country to the metropolitan conurbation of Lisbon and the progressively depleted areas of the interior territories, although neither of these two major parts could be understood as homogeneous (Fig. 1).

Indeed when focusing on the Northwest urban occupation we recognize a continuous urban texture with different densities and several points of polarization, which correspond to the traditional centres of old towns and the core of the metropolitan conurbation — the municipality of Porto and its surrounding municipalities. These structural elements which determine the regional urban framework stand out for their greater density and correspond simultaneously to the areas that have

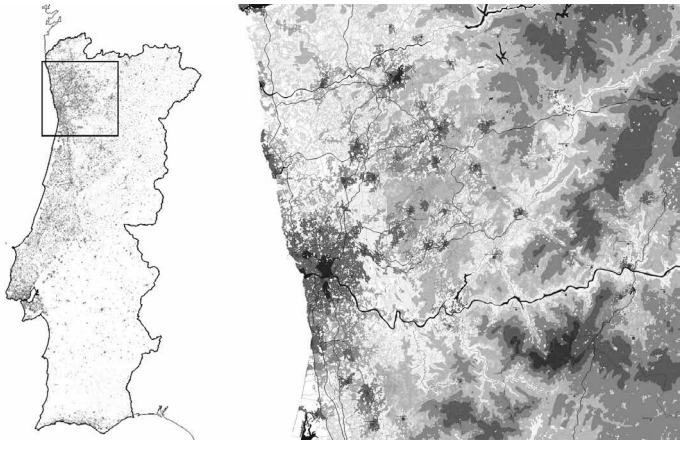

Fig. 1. a) Built area in Portugal (source: MDT-CEAU-FAUP, with data from COS 2007, Portugal); b) Variation of density in the Northwestern area of Portugal (source: MDT-CEAU-FAUP, with data from INE and IGeoE, Portugal).

a significant concentration of services and public facilities forming part of the tertiary sector of the economy, although not having the exclusivity of those.

Thus, corresponding to an area traditionally associated with the most significant development of the industrial and logistics sectors of the economy, the Portuguese Northwest has benefited from an internal flow of migration that found in this region the offer of employment and the subsequent increase in quality life that the interior regions of the country and the agricultural sector did not guarantee.

So, the Northwest region, giving continuity to a past trend of dispersed occupation related to small-scale rural properties, suffered intense dynamics of urban colonization of the existing and wide network of roads and paths that followed the major changes occurring in society in the decades that followed the end of the dictator-

ship in the 1970s and the European Union membership in the 1980s.

**The asymmetries under the Democratic Welfare State**

The increasingly dual Portugal — coastal versus interior territories — would thus be the reflection of a society that presented wide inequalities, being the rural exodus a compensation mechanism against those.

Since 1974, after four decades of dictatorship, the democratic governments were aware of these asymmetries and sought to progressively create conditions for greater equity and social justice, a goal which would find better ways of being achieved after 1986, when Portugal joined the European Economic Community, later the European Union.

In fact, these two new and combined political circumstances led to several structural and societal changes: the redefinition of social structures and the increase of social mobility, that we saw, for example, in the arising of an enlarged middle class; the development of the services sector, again at the expense of the abandonment of agriculture, and the reinforcement of even more important national migratory movements; the liberalization and globalization of the economy and the investment in the financial sector and in the constructions sector; and, of utmost importance, the creation of — or the will to create in a far less rich (in fact a relatively poor) country with a recently established democratic regime achieved by a peaceful but vigorous social movement which overthrew the dictatorship — a welfare state that sought to follow the expensive European post-war models.

The arising and the institutionalization of social awareness implied in the last topic took place along with the possibility of accessing to the European Structural Funds, important financial tool to meet the needs of local economy exploiting endogenous potential, to address territorial cohesion and urban convergence and, ultimately, to enable sustainable growth and better standards of living.

The fulfilment of these goals combined with the drive to establish the foundations of the previously mentioned socially driven system led to the investment in public facilities and infrastructures by local and national governments, but also to a state supported framework that increased funding access for developing enterprises (in particular SMEs). All these investments running along with a credit scenario that enabled easy access for families to building private houses.

Therefore the state reserves for himself the responsibility of elaborating plans and regulations, of supervising private initiatives and guaranteeing the existence and the adequate performance of public services. The private sector, adjusting its actions to rules in place, followed an intervention framework where the decision to act and the choice of location are mainly driven by the market dynamics or, at a small scale, by individual preferences. This way of proceeding, without a truly orientated strategy of expansion or of creating specific areas of new urban developments, enlarged even more the existing urban areas, dispersing all kinds of buildings and urban uses everywhere.

So, although the state intervention in order to establish a reasonable offer of urban services in each municipality core expected to minimise territorial differences, the importance of the previously mentioned dynamics led to the reinforcement of existing territorial diversities.
Revealing the concentration of population in the areas of highest economic dynamics, which includes not only the higher density and tertiary core areas but also the territories of industrial dispersion, the reality of the Portuguese Northwest, in these years of economic progress, has reaffirmed, even more, the differences between intensive urban contexts — denser and consolidated urban areas and their peripheral edges; extensive urban contexts — dispersed or diffuse urban occupation resulting predominantly of private housing expansion often mixed with dispersed industrial buildings or enterprise areas; and discontinuous urban contexts — lower density areas characterized by their rural matrix and the predominance of agriculture and forest mixed with single housing typologies (isolated, detached or semi-detached).

**The recent economic crisis aftermath**

The important urban growth cycle, that started in the 1970s and incredibly increased in the 1990s based on the real estate sector and on the production of new housing, came to an end in the mid 2000s. This outcome, resulting above all from the current financial crisis originated within the real estate credit systems, was also related to the decreasing numbers of population and a new surge of migration. A phenomenon that is particularly dramatic in the lower density urban contexts,

where the population exit was achieved mainly at the expense of young adults that reinforced denser central areas or the recent but expressive flow of emigration to other countries.

In fact, considering the increase of unemployment in the last decade it's not difficult to estimate the reasons that determine the loss of this population. In 2011 Census, it's clear that almost everywhere in the Northwest region of Portugal the unemployment rate was higher than 9%. For the mentioned reasons it is also clear that the problem of population ageing has been aggravated. If we look at the changes between Census 1991, 2001 and 2011 we can see that the highest ageing rates are found mainly in these low density areas from where people tend to leave.

At the same time, the recent economic crisis has changed the way public authorities were dealing in the past with an already fragile Welfare System. There is a strong decline in public investment, reducing even more an already restricted policy of public intervention. The new political framework that took place during the crisis climax led to the closure of many facilities and consequently to a higher concentration of public services in fewer locations, materializing decisions that were held on the basis of cost-benefit analysis that pointed out dramatically the very restricted numbers of users in certain areas. In addition to the privatization process of public services, some public facilities have closed or are operating far below capacity, showing, in many circumstances, signs of degradation (Fig. 2).

The aggravation of territorial asymmetries and social in-


Fig. 2. a) Closed and abandoned school in the interior of Portugal; b) Manifestation against the closing of Post Offices in the interior of Portugal; c) Schools closed in 2014 (source: Ministério da Educação, Portugal).

equity take place, particularly, in already deprived lower density areas. Economically driven migrations, loss of population and stagnation of urban growth are associated with the acceleration of a process of state withdrawal, abandonment and degradation that has a particular focus on the less populated areas.

The process of deruralization proceeds associated with the ageing of population and the emigration surge in recent years. As a result, the lower density areas are even more vulnerable to the decrease of population, abandonment and disinvestment in existing resources and in individual and collective physical assets. In contrast, there is a even greater concentration of services, public and private, in areas of high urban concentration that correspond, in fact, to larger and denser urban contexts. Such a setting will tend to accentuate asymmetries and the territorial system vulnerabilities, leading to an incre-

mental loss and subsequent urban fabric degradation — regarding physical and social dimensions —, accentuating inequalities and intensifying human segregation.

**The resilience of low density areas**

The withdrawal of the State reduces the access to resources and by doing so increases the desertification of the lower density areas mainly in the east boundary and more interior areas of the region and also in the less valued interstitial areas — usually locations away from urban centres or important urban axes, not so well served by the road network and now condemned to a progressive isolation — although belonging to the vast coastal territory mentioned in the beginning of this text. These lower density urban areas result from dispersed or diffused patterns of urbanization that have constituted a significant trend on recent urban development and a form of urbanization that has been highly debated all over the world (Fig. 3).

While some see them as a result of poor land management or as an uncontrolled growth related to the exponential increase in the use of the private car, others see them as a less expensive opportunity for a living space outside the congested denser urban areas that can also guarantee specific conditions to improve the inhabitant's quality of life.

The main issue is, in fact, on how these types of territories relate to the use (or the abuse) of resources.

Under the umbrella of capitalism one should generate economies of agglomeration that are needed for job creation and economic growth implying interventions


Fig. 3. a) Disadvantages of urban sprawl (source: UN Habitat 2016) World Cities Report 2016; b) Aerial photograph of diffuse occupation in the Northwest of Portugal (photo: © Filipe Jorge).

cost-effective and with great potential to prevent and reduce unplanned development, while reducing the social, economic and environmental costs of urban sprawl. Although seen as a quite interesting principle when one is thinking in the future and trying to avoid new expansion areas, is very difficult to address when trying to deal with existing lower density urban areas.

In fact, while accepting that some features of these contexts can indeed determine increased vulnerability the real question is: can we also accept that these territories have as well some particular attributes with high potential for local regeneration? Are they resilient and able to recover from present day threats?

Although urban sprawl is usually related to the loss of agricultural land, the dispersed urban pattern of the Northwest region of Portugal is characterized by the proximity between agriculture and the built occupation, including housing and industrial plots.

Farming is a way to supplement the lower income of certain families (usually employed in local factories) but can also be seen as a form of occupying leisure time that in the cities we have come to associate to the recent

trend related with urban gardens, communal, allotment gardens, urban farming, and so on. Furthermore the ecological and the aesthetic dimensions associated with the agriculture and the forest green landscapes are seen as an important feature that values these territories and that should be considered when transforming them.

With respect to the mobility, studies have showed that in daily house-work commuting there are many areas where walking corresponds to 20% of the displacements but in certain areas it reaches values greater than 30%, standards only achieved in the central urban core of cities like Porto, which, considering the Portuguese reality, is not inconsiderable. However one can not help saying that often the proximity in these areas of diffuse urbanization, while revealing an important mix and complementary uses in the territory, can also point to a possible limitation of access to other modes of transport, and consequently to serious constraints in finding jobs out of a restricted area.

Although these territories may present some problems of exclusion or discrimination, considering what has just been said, it seems clear that the lower density areas are the ones that best respond to social inclusion. If you look at the housing issue considering the proportion of housing only with elderly residents, it is clear that the areas of segregation and social segmentation are those that match the denser urban city centres. Furthermore the lower density areas are those where community ties, neighbourhood relations and social solidarity can be found in a more significant way.

**Final remarks**

Considering that being resilient means being proactive despite the anticipated and unanticipated challenges that will emerge and also being able to take advantage of inherent strengths or values to withstand crisis and deflect attacks of any nature, to deal with contemporary reality and promote an alternative to the present day migration flows, that emphasize existing vulnerabilities and territorial asymmetries, is essential to ensure a consistent understanding upon which to act on the territory of urbanization.

It requires, first of all, to recognize and accept urban diversity, to value heterogeneity and to identify and understand its different meanings as well as the actual characteristics that distinguish each pattern of occupation, its risks, vulnerabilities and values and determine the framework to promote specific actions.

Recent changes are indeed radical, going from realized investment in growth, by occupying new urban areas or expanding existing ones, to a real contraction of the available funding for intervention and, above all, of the existing population. It is recognized, therefore, this new condition of shrinking territories — not only in the Portuguese reality but also in many European territories.

In Portugal, the public administration, in its different levels of action, has serious difficulties in knowing how to manage territorial asymmetries, and particularly, areas with a visible demographic loss, partially occupied housing developments and buildings unfinished, abandoned or vandalized. The big question, in fact, is how to deal with the management of infrastructure and public

services in a drastic cut in funding scenario and, at the same time, how to set limits and rules for the privatization process, defining detailed plans for public goods and provision of public services valuing the particular identity of each territory.

The territorial asymmetries are a challenge for the future, particularly in what matters the less populated areas and therefore the ones that are usually understood as the least economically interesting, a condition that modern society has learned to associate with development. It seems clear that one has to question the excessive value placed in the economic principles that characterize modern development. However, corresponding to a paradigm shift, there's no experience yet on the best practices to counteract these degradation cycles.

Meanwhile one should be aware of the specific values of each part of the territory and, above all, be conscious of this diversity, which must be dealt with as a positive dimension of the extended urban territory of contemporary times.

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MULTIPLICITY AND COMPLEXITY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN SPACES IN EUROPEAN CITIES. PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAMS OF THE PAST, INSPIRED BY THE RATIONALIST MOVEMENT, DENIED THIS COMPLEXITY AND CREATED SPACES WITHOUT IDENTITY. IT IS POSSIBLE TO CHANGE THIS PARADIGM AND INVEST IN REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES THAT BOTH RESPECT DIFFERENCES AND HELP BUILD DEMOCRATIC, MULTICULTURAL CITIES AND SOCIETIES.

Elena Tarsi

# INFORMAL CAPE VERDEAN SETTLEMENT IN LISBON
# BAIRRO 6 DE MAIO AND THE CHALLENGE FOR URBAN PLANNING

**Abstract**

Bairro 6 de Maio was built by immigrants from Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony, in the 1970s and 1980s. It was one of the many informal settlements in the suburbs of Lisbon and is one of the last neighbourhoods left 'alive' after the 1993 PER Program demolished most of the spontaneous settlements and relocated their population to public housing. In recent years, the Municipality of Amadora, where Bairro 6 de Maio is located, has begun knocking down houses again under the auspices of the over 20-year-old PER, without creating real alternatives for the displaced population. Based on a critical analysis of this case study, this paper indicates the need for socially sustainable policies and programmes regarding informal settlements in Portugal and other European countries. It proposes a different and challenging approach to planning that is not based on legal rhetoric but comes from both defending people's fundamental right to housing and having a multicultural vision of cities.

**Keywords**

Informal Settlements, Lisbon, Post-Colonial Immigration, Housing Rights.

## Introduction

This analysis of *Bairro 6 de Maio* in Lisbon is part of wider research on the manifestation of urban exclusion in Lisbon and Porto, Portugal's two major metropolitan areas. This study is based on a comparative perspective with the Brazilian context, where urban exclusion is a structural component in the formation of cities. It aims to provide steps to move forward in the understanding of how societal inequalities are manifested in the urban fabric. Informal settlements are certainly the most common evidence of this manifestation, due to both the historical reasons upon which their presence is based and the approach taken by policies that have been dealing with the phenomenon. Moreover, academic interests and political debates in European countries have generally ignored the phenomenon. However, it has been widely analysed in countries of the Global South, such as Brazil (Alvito, Zaluar 2004; Maricato, 2001; Villaça, 2001). South-North perspectives can contribute significantly to understanding urban exclusion (Tarsi, 2016) and designing policies and programmes regarding informal settlements.

After a brief presentation of housing policies in Portugal and the specific case study, this paper proposes a challenging approach to designing sustainable policies and programmes regarding informal settlements. The background of the following analysis is the body of post-colonial studies (Watson, 2009; Fortuna, 2012), the epistemology of the South perspective (Santos, 2014) and the body of knowledge and analysis regarding informal settlement policies and programmes (Roy, Alsayyad, 2003; Porter,

2011), which have been thoroughly investigated by the author in previous research (Tarsi, 2013; 2014).

## Informality and Housing Policies and Programmes in Portugal

Informal settlements in Portugal are not a recent phenomenon. In the early 1900s, many people lived in these spontaneous and precarious neighbourhoods located in the suburbs close to Lisbon and Porto, Portugal's two major cities. At that time, the city's historic centres also suffered bad conditions, such as the *ilhas*[1] in Porto, which were the result of migration from inland and lack of public housing policies. The first public programmes came from concerns regarding urban sanitation. Two examples of these are:

1. the 1956-1966 plan for the *ilhas* of Porto, when the shanty houses were destroyed and the population was moved into new buildings;
2. the *Habitações de Renda Económica* Programme in Lisbon from 1959-1969 (Nunes, 2013).

Notwithstanding these efforts, public housing made up only 10.8% of the total amount of houses built from 1953 to 1973 (Gros, 1994). After the Carnation Revolution in 1974, architects — such as Siza Vieria and Nuno Por-

[1] *Ilhas* are small houses near the city centre that were constructed for workers during the late 19th century industrial period. Their odd shape is due to a non-conventional division of land; the width of each lot is 5.5 m on the side facing the street and the length is 100 m running perpendicular to the street. The owner's house was built at the front end, while at the back a corridor was opened with small houses on either side (see CMP, 2001).

tas — carried out the SAAL experiences (Bandeirinha, 2007), which were inspired by a completely different approach: participation of inhabitants in the entire process of building new houses. Unfortunately, the experiment only lasted for two years.

Another consequence of the Carnation Revolution, and the resulting geopolitical reconfiguration of Portugal's former colonies in Africa, was a wave of immigration to Portugal from Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Principe. The majority of these immigrants settled in the metropolitan Lisbon area, which saw another immigration wave after Portugal joined the European Union in 1986. The city is now home to 80% of the country's Portuguese-speaking population of African origin (Malheiros, Fonseca, 2011). Those events created a massive need for housing that was not addressed by the government through effective housing policies. The presence of these communities, along with migrants from inland Portugal, led to the development of vast unplanned areas on the periphery of Lisbon. These settlements are called *bairros de lata*, a Portuguese expression for slum. In the 1990s, the presence of two major international events in Portugal — "Lisbon Capital of Culture" (1994) and "EXPO" (1998) — forced the country to address the issue of precarious housing, as the *bairros de lata* had become a source of national shame (Cachado, 2012). A solution to the problem was launched in 1993, with a nation-wide public housing programme called PER (Slum Relocation Programme) that aimed to 'eradicate the slums'. It described the *bairros de lata* as a 'social wound' and as enclaves of poverty, mar-

ginality and illegal activities, such as drug trafficking and prostitution (Cachado, 2013), thus stigmatising both the spontaneous settlements and their inhabitants. While the PER continued into the early 2000s, its appears to have learnt little from the social housing experiences developed in Europe during the 1960s and 1970s, which were barely criticised for

> clustering disenfranchised communities together into massive housing blocks, while ignoring the distinctiveness and cultural practices of immigrants. (Lages, Braga, 2016, p. 2)

The programme contributed greatly to the peripheralisation of the socio-economically weaker population and to the building of severe socio-spatial exclusion islands, which can be easily stigmatised.

## A Post-colonial Informal Settlement: Bairro 6 de Maio in Amadora

Amadora is one of the municipalities of the metropolitan Lisbon area that has seen a massive, spontaneous occupation of its land due to its proximity to Lisbon itself. *Bairro 6 de Maio* is one of the many informal settlements built by immigrants from Portugal's former colonies, in this case Cape Verde, during the 1970s and 1980s. The neighbourhood is quite developed structurally[2] (Fig. 1), despite the high density of its population and the low quality of its buildings. In other municipalities, the 1993 PER Pro-

[2] In 2015, the author observed and worked with HABITA while the association dealt with the displacement of the *Bairro 6 de Maio* community and supported its inhabitants throughout the process. It was also an opportunity for the author to visit other neighbourhoods, do informal interviews and learn about the situations of families. For more information, see <www.habita.info>.

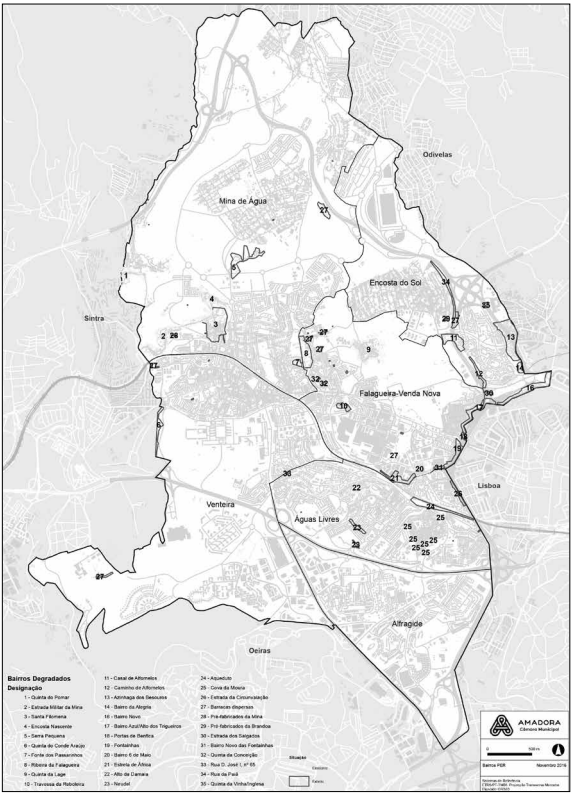


Fig. 1. Situation of informal settlements in Amadora, November 2016. (source: www.cmamadora.pt).

gramme demolished most spontaneous settlements and relocated their populations to public housing. However, in Amadora[3], this process did not begin until 1995 and was never completed, leaving many informal neighbourhoods still 'alive' (Fig. 2). Amadora is currently undergoing a major transformation due to the extension of the

[3] There were thirty-five informal settlements housing 26,000 inhabitants in Amadora at that time (Henriquez, 2016).

| SETTLEMENT | Bairro 6 de Maio |
|---|---|
| TOTAL N. OF FAMILIES | 429 |
| SOCIAL RENT | 78 |
| PER-FAMÍLIAS | 13 |
| PAAR | 35 |
| PAAR+ | 5 |
| PAAR 06/05 | 45 |
| PROGRAMA RETORNO | 13 |
| TOTAL | 189 |
| % | 44,06 |
| EXCLUSION | 168 |
| % | 39,16 |
| N. OF EXISTING FAMILIES | 72 |
| % | 16,78 |
| TOTAL OF SOLVED CASES | 357 |
| EXECUTION OF PER % | 83,22 |

Tab. 1. Execution of the PER program in Bairro 6 de Maio (source: CMA 2016).

Blue Line of Lisbon's underground system. Consequently, this has put a lot of pressure on real estate in recent years and, since 2015, the Municipality of Amadora has begun knocking down houses under the auspices of the now 23-year-old PER (Fig. 3). According to the municipality's data, 6,745 houses have been affected by the resuscitated programme (CMA, 2016). In 2000, the municipality launched programmes to diversify their response to the housing need, fundamentally changing the paradigm from building public housing to directly financing families so that they can address their needs through the private market. These four programmes are:

1. "PAAR, Aid for Rehousing", which provides 20% of the value of a newly-constructed public house, which can be spent as desired by recipients;



Fig. 2. The Bairro 6 de Maio (photo: E. Tarsi).

Fig. 3. The demolition of the settlement (photo: E. Tarsi).

2. PAAR Mais (Plus), which provides 40% of the value of a newly-constructed public house towards buying a house on the market;
3. PAAR 06/05, specifically designed for the *Bairro 6 de Maio*, which provides 60% of the value of a newly-constructed public house (CMA, 2017) "Return", which finances immigrants to 'go back' to their country of origin.

There were more than 400 families living in *Bairro 6 de Maio* before the evictions began. As shown in Tab. 1, the

programme excluded 40% of them due to changes in their life situations, even though the city deemed their cases to be solved. Moreover, as the actual number of inhabitants and their socio-economic situations had never been updated after the start of the 23-year programme, all the people who were not living in the neighbourhood when the programme was launched were automatically excluded from rehousing. The only options offered to these families were either a fifteen-day stay in a charity shelter or two-month' worth of rent in a new house. Unfortunately, those programmes did not take into consideration the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants, whose average income was the equivalent of 200 to 400 euros per family. Many of these people now have no housing options and are living temporarily in relative's house or on the streets[4].

This case study shows the lack of efficient housing policies and the urgent need for new solutions to defend people's fundamental right to housing. The behaviour of the Municipality of Amadora highlights both the inadequacy of the legal approach to housing needs and the deep-rooted racism found in government institutions.

**A Challenging Approach to Planning**

Thanks to an in-depth analysis of "policy dissemination regarding informal settlement" in Portugal written by Ancensao (2010), since 1914, we have had two clearly defined options of either 'clearance and rehousing' or 'up-

[4] The real situation of many inhabitants has been made public by both HABITA and many newspapers.

grade and/or rehabilitation under technical supervision'. The majority of written policies and planned interventions came from the historical approach to sanitation, which was based on the government's concern (albeit rhetorical) about the living conditions of the working class or its attempt to improve the workers' quality of life. While this approach protected the right of inhabitants to housing, it also produced such negative effects as peripheralisation and social exclusion of public housing neighbourhoods. This case study has found that these government concerns have since disappeared. There are three clear indications of this change in attitude. 1) In an interview with the daily newspaper *Público*, the President of the Municipality of Amadora claimed that it would make no sense to take a new census of the neighbourhoods because "everybody would come here to solve their housing problems" (Henriques, 2016) and that the government is not able to solve all housing issues. These statements are based on her belief that the welfare state must end and lead to the stigmatisation of people needing social and economic assistance. Since the economic crisis, discussion on social rights has been systematically attacked due to the reduced power of the government (Abreu et al., 2013). The creation of the "Return" programme (CMA, 2017) as an alternative to housing, in which the government proposes that citizens 'go back' to 'their countries', reflects current mainstream rhetoric calling for immigrants to 'go back home'. Moreover, the programme appears to ignore the fact that the majority of slum inhabitants either were born in Portugal or have lived there since the immigration waves between the 1960s and 1980s. The main rhetorical

argument used by the municipality has been legality: anyone not originally registered in the PER programme has no right to a house and "there are not enough resources for everybody". Another rhetorical argument, which is even more dangerous, is that "we offered solutions to everyone but many of the people did not accept them" (Henriques, 2016). This approach stigmatises poor people, particularly people from African, without taking any responsibility for the failure of the applied policies.

These situations create a new framework with respect to the experiences of the past, which showed a lack of strategic approach, from an urban planning point of view, and a violent disrespect for the fundamental rights of people, from a political point of view. The relationship between urban planning and the informal city is based on a paradox. Informality, which is the suspension of government control, allows the legality argument to be altered at will, as described in Agamben's theory on the 'state of exception' (Agamben, 2003). In this specific case, application of the rules, specifically of the PER programme, was done as a violent practice that did not respect fundamental rights[5]. Old people, sick people and children were left in the streets without any social support. This called attention to the Amadora case and many voices spoke out in favour of the inhabitants. Three examples of these are:

1. while considering the case of another informal settlement (Santa Filomena), an ombudsman asked the

[5] Various interviews with inhabitants revealed that city officers pressured families into choosing a programme, though none fit their needs, and threatened to leave them with nothing. They also claimed that the city never advised them about when they were going to be evicted.

city to stop evicting inhabitants until housing solutions could be found for them (Soares, 2015);
2. a UN reporter on human rights pointed out the need for a new strategy after her visit to Portugal (Fahra, 2017);
3. members of the Assembly of the Republic asked the municipality to suspend evictions, with no results (Lusa, 2017). It appears that no efforts were effective in convincing the municipality to change its strategy.

The case study of Amadora is certainly an extreme example but is not the only situation in Portugal that calls for new urban planning tools and public debate on housing rights and informal settlements, as well as a new national housing policy. Since November 2016, Portugal's new government has created a parliamentary working group on housing with a mandate to create a new national housing policy: this will be a very complex and challenging task. Considering that policies and programmes regarding the phenomenon of informal settlements have produced no effective responses, this paper stresses the need to build a new framework for the planning of informal neighbourhoods in European metropolises. This new approach should be based on the following three principles.

1. Turn stigmatisation into valorisation. Informal cities have always been seen as opposed to legal ones. A *favela* is a place of chaos, unlike a formal city, which represents order (Alvito, Zaluar, 2004). Wacquant has pointed out that territorial stigma is just as limiting as racial or gender stigma (Wacquant et al., 2014), as is fuelled by the media and dominant ideology, along with discriminatory and aggressive attitudes of the police or institutions. Inhabitants of informal settlements experience

this stigma in concrete terms in their daily life. However, this dichotomy could be transformed into a positive value. Differences could be a strong component of the identity of an informal area. What has been considered a stigma, reinforced by ethnic concentration, could be a step forward in the construction of multicultural cities that valorise differences instead of denying them.

2. Defend the rights of a specific community — which is both settled and socially and economically organised in a specific place — to remain in that same place. Both relocation and peripheralisation caused by public housing programmes must be avoided. This would also prevent regional segregation, i.e., the tendency to concentrate disadvantaged social classes into the same area of a metropolitan city (Villaça, 2001).
3. Respect cultural differences in the use of urban space. As opposed to the rest of the city, the informal city reduces the barriers between public and private spaces, which are usually completely different from those of the planned city. Private spaces remain permeable to the outside, even if they are defended by doors and gates. Domestic spaces, which are often quite small, have multiple uses. Public spaces, as they are designed for formal cities, do not exist. However, there are areas that the community defends from privatisation that are used for public purposes. Finally, the community's social life takes place on the streets that have been freed from vehicle traffic.

Multiplicity and complexity have always been the main characteristics of urban spaces in European cities. Public housing programs of the past, inspired by the rational-

ist movement, denied this complexity and created spaces without identity. It is possible to change this paradigm and invest in rehabilitation programmes that both respect differences and help build democratic, multicultural cities and societies.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OFFERED REFUGEES SHOULD NOT ONLY PROVIDE SAFE AND DIGNIFIED LIVING CONDITIONS BUT ALSO AN ENVIRONMENT THAT SIGNALIZE AND SUPPORT FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF EQUALITY, RESPECT AND BELONGING.

Eli Støa

# THE ARCHITECTURE OF NORWEGIAN ASYLUM CENTRES

**Abstract**

Reception centres for asylum seekers in Norway general are generally characterized by a low housing standard. This is justified by the temporariness of the situation, but it also seems to be due to the fact that accommodation for asylum seekers is a part of Norwegian immigration policies and not a part of housing policies. General norms for housing qualities does seemingly not apply to asylum seekers since, as will be argue in this chapter, the low standard of reception centres plays a role in the overall regulation of the arrival of asylum seekers to Norway.

Based on an interdisciplinary research project on the effects of the physical environment on the well-being of asylum seekers and their relationship with the local community, the chapter aims to bring forward architectural issues that should be taken into account when developing accommodation for this residential group. In order to understand the context, a brief presentation of the situation of immigrants and the asylum system in Norway is given. Four topics that may be supported by the choice of architectural and spatial solutions, are highlighted:

1. Identity and participation,
2. Space for activity,
3. Privacy, safety and health,
4. Planning, long-term use and maintenance.

**Keywords**
Norway, asylum seekers, reception centres, architecture, housing qualities.

## Introduction

> It sends the right signal to both residents and the general population that the reception centres are simple (Frode Forfang, director of the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, 2016)

Norway has for the time being (December 2016) approximately 14.000 asylum seekers who live in reception centres while they wait for a decision on their application for permanent residency in the country. The centres are often overcrowded and based in old buildings meant for other purposes such as hotels or hospitals rather than dwellings. The standard of buildings is technically, functionally and aesthetically low and the asylum seekers have very little private space. In general, asylum seekers is the residential group with the worst housing conditions in Norway. There are no minimum standard for accommodation for asylum seekers. In the requirement specification for the operation of asylum centres in Norway, the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) determines that

> governmental asylum centres should be a 'simple but reasonable' accommodation securing the residents' basic requirements and needs for safety.

There is however no definition of what is meant by 'simple but reasonable'[1].

All though there may be exceptions, asylum seekers are people that seek refuge from war, prosecution and/or discrimination. They are in a vulnerable life situation characterised by a high degree of stress, loss, uncertainty and fear about the future. They are often separated from family members whose safety may be at risk, and many have experienced trauma and persecution resulting in vulnerable mental and physical health. In this perspective, one could argue that there is a special need of attention when it comes to what kind of environment that is offered them in receptions centres.

The lower standard of the reception centers may on the other hand be justified by the temporariness of the asylum seekers' stay, and their planned departure — either to a permanent residence in Norway or back to their home country. The average time spent in a reception centre is however 2,5 years (Berg, Tronstad, 2015)[2], with some residents living there for more than 10 years (Hauge et al., 2017).

The forced transitional and temporary condition and experience highlights a need to reconsider the living conditions for residents in reception centres. This has been

[1] We have chosen to translate the Norwegian term 'nøkternt men forsvarlig' with 'simple but reasonable'. Reasonable is however not a fully adequate translation for forsvarlig since this means not only reasonable, understood as proper, sound and safe but has also connotations to dignity and decency. See further discussion in Grønseth et al., 2016.

[2] Number are from 2014, the average time may have changed after the influx of arrivals in 2015.

the topic of an interdisciplinary research project which has studied the effects of the physical environment on the well-being of asylum seekers and their relationship with the local community. The project aimed to document and identify the effect of housing qualities as well as suggesting alternative solutions and inspiring innovation in the reception centre sector[3].

The aim of this chapter is to bring forward architectural issues that should be taken into account when developing accommodation for asylum seekers. This will be done on the basis of findings from the research project. In order to understand the context, a brief presentation of the situation of immigrants and the asylum system in Norway will first be given.

**Immigration in Norway**

The number of immigrants to Norway has increased considerably since the early 1970 when only 1.5% of the population were immigrants[4] (Henriksen et al., 2011). In March 2016 the percentage was 16.3 (Statistics Norway, 2016) which means a number of 850.000[5] out of the total population of 5.2 million. The city of Oslo is the municipality in the country with the largest share of immigrant population. In the capital as a whole they constitute

[3] The project was funded by the Norwegian Research Council and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) for the period 2012-2017. It is led by the Faculty of Architecture and Fine Arts, NTNU with the author of this chapter as project leader. Other partners are SINTEF Building and Infrastructure and Lillehammer University College.

[4] Immigrants are in Norwegian statistics counted as both first generation immigrants as well as Norwegian-born to immigrant parents.

[5] Asylum seekers that have not yet had an answer to their application is not included in this number.

33% of the total population, and in some of the suburbs the proportion of immigrants is more than 50% (ibid). The immigrants come from a variety of countries. 55% of them are from other European countries, the largest groups from Poland, Lithuania and Sweden. 22% of the immigrants have a background as refugees.

The number of asylum seekers coming to Norway varies considerably from year to year. While in 2014, the number of arrivals was about 11.000, it increased to more than 30.000 in 2015. In 2016 so far[6] only 3.000 asylum seekers have arrived in the country. At the time of writing (December 2016), approximately 14.000 people live in reception centres for asylum seekers.

The purpose of reception centres is to offer temporary housing for people while they await the decision on their application for asylum in Norway, and to prepare the residents either for integration or return. The centres should be cost efficient but at the same time secure individual dignity and functionality (NOU, 2011, p. 10). The total of approximately 200 centres are spread all over the country, organized as either centralised, partly decentralised or decentralised centres. The fully centralised centres have an administration and all accommodation in one or several buildings within a limited area. The partly decentralised centres have a centralised part with administration and some accommodation, and rent houses and apartments in the local community in addition. Decentralised reception centres have a separate administrative part, where the asylum-seekers come to seek assistance and information,

[6] By the end of November 2016.

while they all live in ordinary houses spread out in the community. Three out of four reception centres in Norway today are either fully or partly decentralised (Strumse et al., 2016).

The operation of reception centres is subject to a public tender leading to a high demand for cost-efficiency where private for-profit actors now are the dominating operators while municipalities and humanitarian organizations are running fewer centres.

**Housing quality in asylum centres**

As mentioned, there are no minimum standard for accommodation for asylum seekers. The requirements for accommodation states that everyone must have a bed to sleep in, access to lockable bathrooms, and common space for social interaction fit for residents of different gender and age (UDI, 2008). It is further stated that the sanitary conditions are to be satisfactory and that the residents should have access to washing machines and space to dry clothes, access to cooking facilities in the ordinary reception centres, or offered 'nutritious, varied and sufficient feeding'. Residents with special needs are to be provided with specialized accommodation as far as possible and single women should be offered accommodation separate from men.

The standard and type of buildings varies a lot, but most commonly the centralized units of reception centres are placed within old buildings initially meant for other purposes than providing housing. Examples of typical building categories are health institutions, hotels, campsites and military barracks. They are often marked by decay

Fig. 1. Examples of Norwegian reception centres for asylum seekers. Above left: Apartments in wooden townhouses used for decentralised accommodation (photo: K. Denizou). Above right: Housing built for workers in a small industrial town, now used as asylum centre (photo: A. Ofeigsdottir). Under left: Closed down hotel in a small mountain village, turned into an asylum centre (photo: S. Glennås). Under right: Buildings constructed by barracks, set up as an asylum centre in the 1990s (photo: E. Støa).

and are in many cases localized outside or at the fringe of villages or urban areas. The decentralized centres rent available, ordinary apartments in the local community. These units are similar to ordinary housing, but in many cases also marked by a rather low aesthetical and technical standard because of limited budgets. Sometimes even demolition objects are used (Hauge et al., 2016).

According to a survey carried out to all Norwegian receptions centres, only a small number of single residents are offered a single room. In three out of four centres single residents must share rooms with one or more others (Strumse et al., 2016). About half of the centres report building related problems such as moisture, draught,

worn-down surfaces, poor indoor climate and lacking accessibility for disabled residents (ibid).

**Main findings from the research**

Among the main activities in the research project was a web-survey submitted to all the leaders of the Norwegian asylum-seeker reception centres (Strumse et al., 2016) and case-studies including interviews with employees in selected receptions centres (Hauge et al., 2015). Explorations of alternative architectural solutions (including architect student's work) (Støa, 2014), and fieldwork in three centres focusing on the residents' perspective (Thorshaug, work in progress) have also been carried out. All together 15 centres where visited during the research. In this section a brief summary of the main findings will be presented.

*The effect of bad housing qualities on residents' well-being*

Not surprisingly we found that the housing conditions have negative consequences for the residents' everyday lives and for important aspects of well-being such as privacy, perceived identity and control over their own situation, social interaction and feeling of safety: "you feel that someone always have their eyes on you" (male resident, 29). 'Otherising' (Hage, 2002) of asylum seekers is framed through the way they are housed, generally differing from the host community by being more overcrowded, technical and aesthetical decay and a location in the outskirts, sometimes in areas not regulated for housing purposes: "Regardless how bad the living conditions were earlier, one see how other people live here. So, feeling as an

outsider — is something which creates a negative spiral… this outsidedness" (employee, quoted in Hauge et al., 2017, p. 15).

*Decentralised asylum centres may support processes of integration*

Most informants emphasised the benefits of decentralised accommodation for asylum seekers (Hauge et al., 2017). This goes both for the management of the centre and for the residential well-being. Advantages for residents are related to independence and empowerment and reduced levels of conflict and frustrations. Living in an ordinary neighbourhood gives the residents opportunities to use the city and local community more actively and thus supports integration processes:

> Decentralised housing strengthens the ability to live in a normal home and the asylum seekers become more independent. […] When they live decentralised, the threshold to ask for help is higher […] The employees come to them, instead of the asylum seekers coming to us. To live this way is a good change in life for them. It makes them think more about what to do in society, and they become more active users of school, library, voluntary organisations, training, cafés etc. (employee, quoted in Hauge et al., 2017, p. 11)

Living in decentralised accommodation gives residents increased knowledge about Norwegian housing culture, and they may avoid being stigmatised as asylum seekers: "The asylum seekers get more confidence in society, and feel like a part of the society. They live in detached houses just like most people do in x" (employee, quoted in Hauge et al., 2017, p. 13). Further, living in a normal apartment or house may provide more homely qualities than institu-

Fig. 2. Examples of low standard and moisture problems in decentralized reception centres. Left: Sleeping room window with insufficient daylight conditions (photo: K. Denizou). Middle and right: Worn down surfaces and moisture in kitchen and bathroom (photos: R.Ø. Thorshaug).

tion-like buildings will do. This may both enable a 'normalisation' of the residents and influence their daily residential practices (ibid).

However, the houses or apartments asylum seekers are offered often stand out in the neighbourhood due to lack of maintenance and generally poor standard. They also differ noticeably from the other houses due to the way they are used, e.g. with 15-20 single men sharing a house designed to accommodate a 'normal' Norwegian nuclear family. When buildings with a significantly lower standard are used, the differences between housing for 'them' and 'us' becomes more evident, and the signal of otherness becomes more conspicuous.

*Cultural acceptance for reduced quality for some groups*

Many of the reception centres used temporary housing and barracks that according to some informants no longer ought to be used for accommodating people. One of our informants stated that: "No other group of residents could have been housed in these types of buildings!" (public health nurse, quoted in Hauge et al., 2017, p. 13). Also other interviewees claimed that the term 'simple but reasonable housing' used in policy documents on reception centres, in practice is understood as 'lower than average

standard'. The director of (UDI), Frode Forfang, said the following in a newspaper interview about the standard of Norwegian reception centres:

> The reception centre standard should not be high. It should be simple but reasonable. In my opinion other aspects are more important for integration and mental health than the building standard. The activities they are offered are for example more important. It sends the right signal to both residents and the general population that the reception centres are simple[7].

The responsibility for the reception system for asylum seekers lies within the Ministry of Justice and Public Security and is thus a part of Norwegian Immigration policies and not a part of housing policies. This may be the reason why general norms for housing qualities does seemingly not apply to asylum seekers. The standard of the reception centres may therefore be seen as playing a role in the overall regulation of asylum immigration to Norway. Jonathan Darling (2011) has criticized the accommodation practices and dispersal policy of asylum seekers in the UK seeing them as governmental mechanisms of protecting the nation that actively produce positions, techniques and places of discomfort where feelings of belonging are to be undermined, negated or challenged. The discomforts of accommodation become, according to him, a mode of governing this population, and in this way it represents a 'politics of discomfort' (Darling, 2011). While the housing situation for asylum seekers in the UK is certainly different in many ways compared to Norway, the same mech-

[7] Vg.no 30.06.2016: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/asylindustrien/forsker-politikerne-toer-ikke-aa-lage-fine-asylmottak/a/23707705/>.

anisms are possible to identify within reception centres here. It could be argued that the physical environments in reception centres are part of a deliberate policy shaping the possibilities people have of engaging in everyday practices within their residential environments.

**The relevance of architecture — some theoretical perspectives**

According to the Australian architect and theorist Kim Dovey, buildings and places inevitably both create and symbolize socially constructed identities and differences between people: "The politics of identity in built form mediates who we are and where we belong" (Dovey [1998] 2009, p. 18). The architecture of reception centres does not just only affect residents' own situation and self-understanding. Just as important, it influences other peoples' perception of them. When people are a offered housing environment that the rest of society considers as inadequate or even worthless, it will affect the way we consider them. Living conditions for asylum seekers may therefore stabilize perceptions of this group as strangers, suspicious and someone who does not belong here.

At the same time, meanings related to the built environment are continuously reframed due to changing practices, implying that this is not a static phenomenon. An important starting point for our research is thus that architecture in itself may bring about change (Awan et al., 2011). Architecture is seen as "the object of human agency and as an agent of its own actors" and further as "simultaneously shaped and shaping" (Gieryn, 2002, pp. 36, 41). This way of looking at architecture is highly influenced by actor-net-

work-theory, of which Bruno Latour has been among the main proponents, where material structures are regarded as agents or actants within a sociotechnical network where "technology and society are mutually affecting and shaping each other" (MacKenzie, Wajcman, 1985/1999). Within this perspective, architecture is not something that is given, and only the result of choices made by developers, owners, politicians and other stakeholders. Architecture may affect usage patterns, create or hinder opportunities, change attitudes and values (even give something value that had no value before). Architecture can be an active force in our quest to achieve something, such as social inclusion, dignity and health (Awan et al., 2011).

## Architecture of reception centres — proposed guidelines

One of the outcomes of the research project[8] was a handbook proposing guidelines for improved design and development of receptions centres (Støa et al., 2016). The second part of the chapter will present the main topics of the handbook[9]. There were several reasons for providing architectural guidelines for asylum centres. One was the acknowledgment of the situation, that asylum seekers in general are offered a far worse housing situation than any other residential groups in Norway and that this affects not only their well-being and mental health, but also a long-term integration process. We believe that there is a lack of knowledge and consciousness within the asy-

[8] For other outcomes, see: <https://www.ntnu.no/ad/asylmottak>.
[9] The handbook is publicised in Norwegian only, to be downloaded from: <https://www.ntnu.no/ad/asylmottak>.

lum system about how the physical environment may facilitate or hinder social processes. In a time when immigration policies are highly debated, reception centres are under pressure. This may result in a continued acceptance of poor housing standard for asylum seekers, a development that we want to counteract with these guidelines. From a humanistic point of view, we claim that the architecture offered refugees should not only provide safe and dignified living conditions but also an environment that signalize and support fundamental ideas of equality, respect and belonging.

The guidelines are meant to support fundamental housing qualities in Norwegian reception centres by describing qualities that should be aimed at. They do not define minimum standards and specific solutions but provide a basis in order to make better judgements when establishing and assessing centres. The booklet includes built examples that should both inspire to innovation and show possibilities. As there are few high quality asylum centres worth showing, most examples are other kinds of institution-like or temporary housing such as student housing, homes for elderly, mental patients etc.

Four topics are highlighted:

1. Identity and participation,
2. Space for activity,
3. Privacy, safety and health,
4. Planning, long-term use and maintenance.

In the following these topics are elaborated, and some of the examples mentioned in the guidelines are shown.

Fig. 3. Left: Cité de Refuge (1929). This example of housing for homeless people, was not only given a site in the middle of the urban fabric in Paris. It was moreover designed by some of the main and most prestigious architects of the time, namely le Corbusier and P. Jeanneret. With its modern design, bright coloured facades and large window-openings, it signalises the residents' rightful place in society. They should not have to hide away in shame under bridges and in places where no one else goes (photo: S.A. Jenssen). Right: This award winning housing project for formerly drug abusers and criminals in Trondheim was designed with a strong will to build up a positive identity among the residents. Interviews with some of them show that the architectural qualities support their dignity and self-esteem and give them more hope for the future (Hauge, Støa, 2009) Architect: Bård Helland (2005) (photo: B. Helland).

*Identity and participation*

How can the reception centre with its localization and architecture support the perception of asylum seekers as equal and independent individuals with dignity and integrity? Buildings and outdoor areas that stand out negatively from their surroundings either aesthetically, by lack of maintenance, disorder or even deviant use may become stigmatizing. They may affect the local population's perception of the asylum seekers negatively. Also if centres are localized in areas that are not fit for housing due to noise from traffic or industry or distance to services, schools etc they will signalize a lack of will to include the asylum seekers and make participation in society more difficult.

Context and localization | Large institution-like buildings create the impression that asylum seekers are clients and not individual people with different background and diverse needs. Offering a homelike environment, often

made possible in decentralised centres where the asylum seekers live in ordinary neighborhoods, may support independence, empowerment and integration (Hauge et al., 2017). On the other hand, a central localization and visibility in a city or village will strengthen the residents' self-respect and support their legitimate place in society.

Influencing one's own situation | To arrive as an asylum seeker in a new country involves leaving much of what is connected to one's identity: home, family, friends and work. The application process itself as well as the asylum system will in many cases strengthen the feeling of having a lost identity. Providing opportunities to influence their everyday surroundings may counteract this feeling and even work as a way to regain control over one's own life.

Symbols of value and dignity | Architectural qualities may strengthen a message about inclusion, tolerance and dignity. This comes to both how existing buildings and outdoor areas are maintained but is also about the design of new buildings. Positive associations connected to the appearance of the physical environment, may be transferred to the residents and strengthen their role as equal citizens.

*Space for activities*

How may the physical environment support an active and meaningful everyday life at reception centres? How well is it adapted for practical tasks and to what degree may the residents have social contact within the centre and with people outside?

It is important for everyone to fill one's days with mean-

ingful activities. This is about being able to use and develop abilities and skills, about mastering the everyday life, about being useful and about being part of social networks. Activities create a basis for self-respect, pride and social belonging. Often activities are something we do together with other people, they are therefore essential for creating and maintaining bonds to other people.
The time living at reception centres are to a large degree characterized by waiting, waiting for an answer to the application or to the appeal, waiting to be settled in a municipality after receiving a positive answer or to be returned to the home country in case of a final negative answer. In times of great uncertainty about what the future will hold, it is particularly important to be able to fill the waiting time with activities that are perceived as meaningful.
Just like for everyone else, the daily life in a reception centre consists of several everyday doings such as cooking, eating, washing, doing homework, playing and resting. Both the circumstances and the physical surroundings influence whether the activities are simple and enjoyable to accomplish, or if they are perceived as unpleasant, stressful or even unsafe.
The booklet emphasizes places for cooking and eating, social arenas, places for children and possibilities for outdoor activities.

Cooking and eating | Instead of being social and enjoyable rooms, the kitchens at the reception centres are often places where conflicts arise and where residents spend as little time as possible. This is both due to the size and layout of the room, and to how use and cleaning is organized.

People who are in vulnerable life situations, e.g. because of traumatic experiences, are in need of security and possibilities to shield themselves against other residents.
If possible, several smaller kitchen and dining areas should be available, giving residents a freedom to choose when to cook and eat and when to be together with others.

Social arenas | Having spaces for social meetings and unplanned activities is a way to give residents a greater degree of control over their own lives. This can be common living rooms, but also in-between spaces such as extensions of corridors and entrance areas.
In Sharehouse Refugio in Berlin 20 newly arrived refugees live with German citizens (many of them also with immigrant background)[10]. The emphasis is given to social and practical joint activities. As an example, the roof terrace is being transformed into a roof garden and a cafe in order to give the asylum seekers the opportunity to develop both social networks and skills.

Places for children | Children and youth need space to play and places to unfold, especially in reception centres where the private rooms often are small and shared by many. Creating good places for children does not necessarily require large space and a lot of resources, but is mainly about utilizing the opportunities that already exists in the buildings. Chalkboard walls that it can be drawn on, or walls with climbing holds, ribs or the like can be simple and inexpensive measures which give children (and others) additional options for play and activities.

[10] <https://sharehaus.net/refugio/>.

Fig. 4. Left: A group of young interior architects and architects in Oslo call themselves Makers' Hub. They have initiated several projects and activities at Torshov Asylum Centre. In close cooperation with residents, they have arranged workshops and agreed on how they may improve the physical environment at the center. One of the activities was to decorate one of the living rooms (photo: Makers' Hub, Oslo). Right: Every autumn some of the residents at Torshov reception centre in Oslo take part in apple harvesting. By help of a car jack and some steel buckets, one of the staff member has made a simple apple press, which they use to create their own apple juice. It's about making the most of the resources found on site (photo: Eriksen Skajaa Arkitekter/ Flimmer Film, Christer Fasmer).

When private rooms offer few opportunities to be alone, it is important that there are other safe places where children can read, listen to music and play quietly together.

Outdoor activities | Outdoor activities have a number of positive health effects. If there are opportunities to grow food or to use the resources available on the site, this can also become social contact points with the local community.

*Privacy, safety and health*

Which opportunities are present for privacy, and how safe is the situation perceived? How do the rooms and buildings affect the residents' mental and physical health? Overcrowding and lack of privacy may have negative consequences for mental health and well-being. This is particularly important for those asylum seekers who have had traumatic experiences and often struggle with anxiety and depressions, in addition to being in an uncertain life situation with social and cultural disruptions and great upheavals.

Vulnerability | Asylum seekers are a multifaceted group and most of them have plenty of resources and are well adapted. Still there will always be some who may be regarded as vulnerable and who will demand special follow-up support.
In Norwegian regulations the term 'residents with special needs' is used and it is stated by the immigration authorities that these people should have adapted accommodation (UDI, 2008/2015). This goes among others for victims of torture or harassment, children and single minors, single mothers, disabled people, people with mental illnesses and chronic diseases.

Privacy | Being in an insecure and vulnerable life situation implies that there is a special need to have a sheltered private life. Cultural and language barriers between groups of asylum seekers put extra demands on those who unwillingly have to share rooms. We may assume that the need for privacy will increase with the length of the stay. Research has shown that over-crowdedness and lack of privacy may lead to mental illness and have long term negative effects on children's development (Berg, Tronstad, 2015).

Protection and control | Asylum seekers who have been victims of torture or other kinds of violent harassment are particularly sensible towards strong sounds, smells or visual impressions, not at least towards situations that may remind them of what they have been exposed to in their earlier life. This includes situations which can be misunderstood or which may increase the lack of control (Sveaass, Johansen, 2006). They are often bothered

Fig. 5. On the roof of one of the buildings at St. Olav's Hospital in Trondheim is a small spiral wooden pavilion. Here the architects have created an atmosphere of security and tranquility where relatives of children with fatal cancer can retire and gather strenght. The pavilion is called Frirom (Freeroom) and is the result of a student project which was realized thanks to funding from Gjensidige Insurance company. Architects: Sunniva Huus Nordbø, Maren Storihle Ødegård (2013) (photos: P. Aalto).

by sleep disturbances, nightmares, loss of concentration, headaches, nervousness and fear, shame and guilt, chronic anxiety, depression, altered identity and body experience, experience of meaninglessness, distrust of others and changed time perspectives (Sveaass, Johansen, 2006; Varvin, 2015). The situation can be complex and should be treated and followed up by health personnel. But the physical environment may also affect the situation for this group of asylum seekers. They should be offered separate rooms with adequate soundproofing, with possibilities to protect themselves against insight and strong light, and where they experience control over their environment at the greatest extent possible.

Places to be alone | In asylum centres where the residents do not have single rooms, they should be offered other places, indoor or outdoor, to be alone. This could be rooms for silence, prayer and contemplation, or for other activities that require concentration such as reading, writing, studying, and the like.

Protection against abuse and violence | Many women feel unsafe at the reception centres. They are particularly vul-

nerable to sexual harassment and abuse. The physical layout plays an important role to prevent abuse and thus to reduce fear among female residents and their children (Skogøy, 2008). The regulations from the Norwegian immigration authorities requires separate living areas for women (UDI, 2008/2015). However, this does not always provide the necessary experience of security. Single women with children must have a protected private sphere, with access to kitchen, living room and bathroom without crossing the common areas where men have access. There may also be groups or individual residents at the reception centres that for different reasons (e.g. fear of trafficking) need extra sheltering against outsiders. In some cases it may be necessary to prevent outsiders from freely moving within the reception centre area. This may be particularly relevant for centres which are located in larger cities.

Fire safety | There is generally a higher frequency of fires in reception centres than in other buildings. This is partly because residents are not always used to the equipment used for heating and cooking in Norway. Frustration and despair can also lead to desperate acts, at worst arson. Therefore, a major focus is given to fire safety in the asylum reception sector. The Norwegian immigration authorities has thus enforced the requirements for fire safety both in terms of procedures, equipment and especially staff roles and training of residents.

Indoor climate | Air quality, thermal comfort, sound and daylight are factors that affect the indoor climate of a

building and that has largely impact on residents' health. Poor technical standard can cause problems with moisture and mold in buildings, which may lead to asthma, allergies, respiratory diseases, headache and abnormal fatigue (Folkehelseinstituttet, 2013). Other aspects of the indoor climate, such as dust and noise can also create health challenges. Asylum seekers, and particularly the children among them, are especially vulnerable because many of them spend much of the day indoors and in rooms used both as a bedroom and living room.

*Planning, maintenance and long-term use*
What kind of processes may contribute to more long-term perspectives and qualities?
The last section of the booklet deals with the process of planning and establishing reception centres, factors related to operation and maintenance and finally with potential after-use of the buildings.

Planning and establishing | A reception centre for asylum seekers should be planned and established in close cooperation with local stakeholders and neighbors. The municipal building authorities must secure that all legal requirements are fulfilled, and city planning authorities should take part in the discussion of the best locations for new centres. Health authorities, fire department, school and kindergarten should also be involved.

Operation, maintenance and quality inspections | It is generally important to have good routines for maintenance and operation. As far as possible, the asylum seek-

ers themselves should be encouraged to be involved in maintenance tasks and thus to influence their own living situation. If there are residents with expertise in building trades or gardening, there are good reasons for including them in work at the centre.
A number of actors are involved in the operation of reception centres: owners, operating organization, governmental and municipal authorities. It should be made clear who are responsible for maintenance, upgrading and rehabilitation.
Operating organizations should further have in place procedures for control of the quality of the centres. Checklists for control should be regularly reviewed (e.g. every month) and signed by the centre manager. This may be useful both in order to plan and carry out maintenance and repairs, and can also serve as an important basis for any dispute with the landlord.
There is a need for clear guidelines and regulations which public audits of the reception centres can be based on.

Reuse and after-use | Most asylum centres are adopting existing buildings that are built for other purposes than to be housing for asylum seekers. Former hotels, dormitories and apartment building may be suitable as reception centres because they are designed to be accommodation and often have good access to toilet and bathrooms, sometimes even kitchen. This may also apply to health institutions. Use of schools, offices and other types of commercial buildings can be more demanding, since there will be a need for larger structural interventions in order for them to work well as reception centres. As far as possi-

ble, one should avoid buildings that bring negative associations, either through their former use, through architectural expressions or through the building standard and/or location. In some cases, the best solution would still be to construct a new reception centre. This would give an opportunity to design a physical environment that is suited for the purpose. In order to make this a realistic option, it should be planned with a high degree of flexibility and with clear ideas of how the building can be used if the reception centre is closed down. Relevant options for after use may be social housing, student housing, commuting apartments, assisted living etc. There are examples of projects where asylum seekers are accommodated together with other residential groups[11]. One can also imagine a model in which asylum centres can turn into permanent housing where asylum seekers can keep their apartment if they are granted a residence and may be settled in the neighborhood they have already learnt to know.

**Conclusion**

Since the housing provided in reception centres is part of the immigration policy, it is clear that they signal something to the wider society about the status and place of asylum seekers in Norway. The physical environments affects the residents through associations, but an equally important side is how the buildings structure every day practices. That low housing quality is used as a deterrent instrument in the immigration policy is not only ethically questionable. It makes the discussion about what is an acceptable

[11] See e.g. Grandhotel Cosmopolis website: <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/>.

living standard for asylum seekers difficult. Finally, it limits the possibilities to use architecture and the physical environment as a positive instrument in integration policies. We will strongly recommend that the following questions are asked when making decisions on where and how to accommodate asylum seekers in the future:

- What do the buildings, neighborhoods and localization symbolize?
- How do the architecture accommodate stability for people in-transit in spite of the temporariness of the situation?
- How do the physical environment enable social interaction both within the centres and outside with the local community?
- How could accommodation for asylum seekers enrichen existing urban environments instead of being regarded as a problem?

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PUBLIC SPACES CANNOT BE JUST FUNCTIONAL, BUT THEY NEED TO PROVIDE URBAN DWELLERS TO APPROPRIATE AND REPRESENT THEMSELVES IN THE PUBLIC REALM.

Guaralda, Kowalik, 2012

Mirko Guaralda

# AUSTRALIAN URBANISM AND THE MEANING OF PUBLIC SPACE
## PLACEMAKING AND URBAN DESIGN IN SOUTH-EAST QUEENSLAND

**Abstract**

By 2030 the world urban population is meant to peak at 5 billion, two-thirds of the planet citizens will reside in urban centres. Highly urbanised societies are already facing the emerging crises of place identity requiring new tools and tactics to develop innovative placemaking strategies. The role of public spaces as main stage of urban lives is today even more relevant than in the past; privatisation, commercialisation and sterilisation of the public realm are eroding the specific identity of a locale. More than simple aesthetic interventions, community engagement and community empowerment are central in providing character to a space.

This paper reports on different tools and experiences investigated at the Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane, Australia, to unravel how people develop their own meaning of the public realm. The meaning of space is a key factor in understanding how people interact with a space, how a sense of attachment is developed and, ultimately, how a sense of place can be fostered. Traditional phenomenological approaches have been applied in con-

junction with ethnographic methods and urban informatics tools to gather an understanding of how people relate to public spaces at a multisensory level.

**Keywords**
Placemaking, Australia, Urban design, Migration, urbanism.

**Context**

The Commonwealth of Australia is a nation traditionally founded of migrations (Baum et al., 2005). The particular geographical position of Australia and its unique landscape have implied that since the arrival of European settlers in the late XVIII century, migration has been a planned and highly regulated activity (Hirst, 1995). Controlling who is granted entry and access to the country has been facilitated by the natural barrier that girth the continent, this almost unique characteristic in the past has been used to socially engineering the country population with a focus on attacking mainly migrants from the British Isles in first instance, then other white migrants from British dominions and eventually allowing white migrants from not-English speaking countries. The 'White Australia' policy was a pillar of the federation and it has been slowly dismantled from 1945 to 1975 when several governments have opened the doors of Australia to different ethnic groups (Carey, McLisky, 2009). Today Australia is a multicultural and multiethnic society, but the legacy of the 'White Australia' policy is still present in the political debate with novel suggestions of which ethnic or religious

groups should be allowed in the country or not. The idea of a homogenous, mainly British, society is also evident in the way cities have been and are planned: many colonial settlements follow the so called Shaftesbury system based on a rectangular grid often centred on a main street or mall (Home, 2013). The Garden city and City Beautiful movements had also a significant influence in shaping Australia's built landscape generating what is often referred to as a suburban nation (Freestone, 2007).

Images often associated with Australia are the ones depicting the dense multicultural cities of the East coast or the suggestive landscapes of the outback permeated by an uncanny wilderness. Australia is a highly urbanised country with almost 90% of people living in urban areas, but these urban areas are low-density suburbs dominated by a car-based design and increasingly larger houses (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Suburban building typologies have in fact evolved from small cottages based on British archetypes to lavish MacMansions; large dwellings where many of the rooms are so specialised that are hardly used (Hall, 2010). In between, there is the experiment of Australian Modernism that has produced some of the best example of residential architecture in the country, but this paradigm has been quickly overridden by houses developed and built in series (Rayment et al., 1992). The Australian residential market mirrors mechanics of the car industry; houses are built following precise templates that, although allowing some level of customisation, have produced monotonous suburban landscapes generally lacking of a strong character, a strong identity, a strong sense

Fig. 1. Brisbane, Forms of Myth by A. Pomodoro, 2016 (photo: M. Guaralda).

of place. New suburbs, especially in proximity of the larger cities, are developed every year to accommodate an incoming population that is more and more made of young professionals, skilled workers or international students.

**Emerging Issues in Australian Urbanism**

The physical pattern of Australian cities embeds social dynamics in an evident way. Residents in suburbs are gener-

Fig. 2. Suburban Street in North Lakes, 2008 (photo: M. Guaralda).

ally young families, while young professionals commonly opt for units in the city centre (Pancholi et al., 2015). Different parts of the city accommodate people at different stages of their lives. This pattern houses internal as well as external migrations directing newcomers towards specific urban areas. The effects of serial planning, adoption of stereotype dwellings and high population mobility in the long term have caused resilience issues for Australian cities (Guaralda, Kowalik, 2012). The lack of a strong sense of place in new suburbs, a strong attachment to a locale, has generated communities that are not strong or interconnected enough to face challenges of a changing economy and society (Shearer, Walters, 2014).

There is a deep contrast between rural towns where communities are really close and dense urban areas where, as in other world metropolis, people rarely know their neighbours and can rely on strong resilient networks. As a way

to contrast this situation and rejuvenate inner-city areas the model of the 'urban village' has been adopted in several Australian settlements (Yigitcanlar et al., 2015). This paradigm, often based on New-Urbanism principles, aims to create mixed-use developments, in close proximity to city centres or transport nodes, so to be highly accessible. Urban villages are often designed and branded with specific flavours to attract specific city users; the creative class is generally the target of these developments that promise the amenities of a big city in an environment that resemble the appeal of a village. Since the 1980s-1990s several urban villages have been settled in Australia with different level of success; what characterises all these developments is the aim to have a specific flavour, a specific identity to make then recognisable, and a specific sense of place (Yigitcanlar et al., 2015). Urban villages are often popular with recent migrants because they replicate models common to other urban cultures in dominant economies. Internal and external migrants are not given many options in terms of customisation of their environment and often they have to dwell in loosely adapting generic building types to their lifestyle. While Australian houses might suit migrants from Europe, South Africa or North America, these models are quite distant from the needs of other cultures, which are forced to compromise and adapt their lifestyles (Othman, Buys, 2016).

The emerging issue in Australian urbanism is directly related with the ambition of being a vibrant multicultural and welcoming society; new suburbs, new developments, new housing stock is totally disconnected from the actual needs of the actual existing and incoming population.

Fig. 3. South Bank Urban Beach, 2013 (photo: M. Guaralda).

In the Australian economic system houses are still seen as the main and most secure form of investment, so developers and buyers do not consider actual needs, but marketability of the dwelling when it will be sold in the future (Miller, Bentley, 2012). Number of rooms, amenities and facilities are not thought as necessary to fulfil actual needs, but as guarantees of an economic investment. This disconnection between society and built environment makes research on community engagement and placemaking a strategic area for Australian cities. Migrating to some Australian suburbs means integration through conformation, but some communities are instead working on making the richness migrants bring to a city their main feature, the soul of their locale, the essence of their place.

**Public Space, Placemaking and Communities**

Outdoor living has always been a feature of the traditional Australian lifestyle. The myth of the backyard as social space for the family is celebrated in Australian literature and media (Hall, 2010). The growth of dwellings footprint on one side and the shrinking of lots size on the other have resulted in the death of this traditional space. Public spaces are today more and more assuming the role that traditionally private backyards have played in the social life of many Australians. Public spaces are also playing an important role for migrants from different backgrounds. Enlarged family gatherings, as typical of some cultures, generally cannot be accommodated in private houses, so public parks and spaces are used to host family functions. A common experience in contemporary Australian cities is to see different cultural and social groups coming together in public parks or other open spaces to celebrate family events or religious festivals (Cassels, Guaralda, 2013). Consolidated ethnics groups, like the Italian, French, Greek or Chinese communities, also organise large scale festivals including a number of social events, like food fairs, exhibitions and film screening, which take place in parks and square of major Australian cities. The right of communities to take over some public spaces for a limited period of time is a way to display Australian cultural complexities and the social richness produced by the migration policy of the last 100 years.

The Global Food Village in Logan City Council (LCC), a city in Queensland just south of the capital Brisbane, is an example of how public places can provide common ground for the contemporary Australian society (Logan,


Fig. 4. Logan city Council welcome sign, 2016 (photo: M. Guaralda).

2017). People from 185 nationalities offer food and produce typical of their culture contributing in creating a unique experience of colours, flavours and social integration. Streets around the main railway station are transformed in a vibrant market where to learn about different food and different cultures. LCC has embraced cultural diversity as their trademark and the local government is actively pursuing design solutions to provide their diverse communities with public spaces that could accommodate different uses, different events and cultural celebrations. Melbourne laneways are another example of cultural integration; in the hearth of the city a system of small service spaces has been taken over by street artists to create a unique space where Graffiti are layered time over time (Glen, 2008). This open air gallery welcomes different styles, different symbols and provide a right to the city to several social and cultural groups. These spaces, which

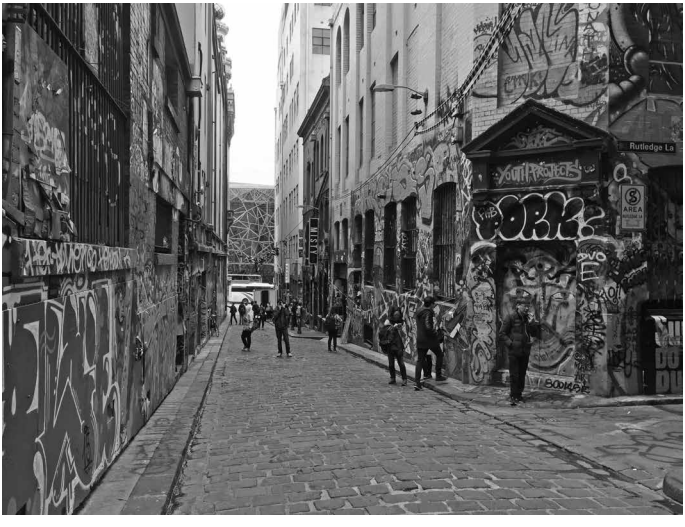


Fig. 5. Melbourne Laneways, 2015 (photo: M. Guaralda).

once had a functional role in the urban structure, today play a fundamental cultural role and are seen as the most relevant feature of this city. Melbourne displays the richness of its population also with several art installations in a variety of public spaces, in the city centre as well as in inner suburbs, aimed to celebrate migrants and their contribution to the city life.

Public spaces are also the stage where social groups can have their voice heard through manifestations, public art, installation or pop-up event in order to claim their right to Australian cities. The 'Tent Embassy' in Canberra, just in front of Old Parliament House, is a semi-permanent installation by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples activities to remind of the deep impact colonisation had on the continent and of the divisions and tensions still present in Australian society (Schaap et al., 2013). Rainbow-themes installations in different cities, such as Syd-

ney or Adelaide, provide LGBTIQ communities with a visible sign of their presence and role within Australian society (Carter, 2015).

A divide anyway exists between urban and suburban public spaces. Even if art is used in both instances to foster identity and sense of place; outer suburbs lack strong social anchors. In new neighbourhoods, public spaces provided are often green and sport facilities; the role that traditionally would be played by street and squares is devoted to commercial malls (Baum, Gleeson, 2010). Private spaces claim the central stage of suburban life with the promise of a family friendly environment foster consumerism and consumption with a sanitised version of urban public life. These private spaces are generic and promote conformation; different social and cultural groups have no agency here and are excluded from representing themselves in the public environment. Although art is used in many new neighbourhood to foster a sense of identity and a sense of place, conformation is the emerging brand in Australian suburban life (Hall, 2007). North Lakes, a masterplanned community North of Brisbane, has a substantial South African and British population, but the cultural relevance of these groups is not evident in the public spaces of this suburb (Setchfield, Abbott, 2015). North Lakes is an example of a new settlement with generous provision of green spaces, parks and sport facilities. In first instance the masterplan provided different lot sizes so to gather for different social groups, but in time the original vision has been abandoned to pursue more safe market choices with allotments more suitable for the growing middle class. North Lakes is also an example of the struggles

new Australian suburbs face in building resilient communities. The lack of strong social narratives informing the morphogenesis of the neighbourhood means residents are quite homogeneous in terms of demographics, but they have also no reason to engage with their neighbours (Shearer, Walters, 2014). People are moved by commercial and economic opportunities to settle in this kind of suburbs lured but the idea of a perfect suburban life. Migrants cannot gain agency on their own environment because suburbs like North Lakes does not allow representation of cultural differences in the public realm. Consolidated inner suburbs, on the other hand, make of cultural differences their brand and the cornerstone of their community identity.

**Conclusions**

Migration is a fundamental component of Australian society. Over the years different social groups have left their mark on areas that now are regarded as rich in character. In South East Queensland, for example, the Italian community has a strong association with New Farm, the Greek with West End, the Asian with Fortitude Valley and Sunnybank, the Southern European with Paddington, the African with Moorooka. All these suburbs have strong identities and strong communities built on the key role migrants groups had and have in structuring Australian cities. These migrant groups represent their identity in their public spaces through art, events and food. Migrant groups of more recent settlements can also find agency in some urban centre like Logan where diversity is a key point in building community resilience. In contrast, out-

er suburbs are generic and foster conformation; their public spaces are functional but lack of any flavour or cultural specificity.

The quality of new developments or re-developments in South East Queensland, and in Australia more in general, is often based on the simple provision of spaces (Pancholi et al., 2014); the challenge Australian urbanism faces at the beginning of the 21st century is structuring resilient, inclusive strong communities. Public spaces cannot be just functional, but they need to provide urban dwellers to appropriate and represent themselves in the public realm (Guaralda, Kowalik, 2012). Successful Australian public spaces, like Melbourne laneways, provide agency to citizens to modify their own environment, to project values, ideas and desires in the image of the city. In the past migrants were allowed to create their own urban narratives and this has generated some of the most vibrant urban spaces in Australia; this approach has a lot potential for new development in South East Queensland were the need of participatory inclusive planning is more and more evident (Caldwell, Guaralda, 2016).

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WE MUST BE COMMITTED IN PURSUING THE BEST ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE COMMUNITY, DEALING WITH A PROCESS WHERE MULTIPLE ACTORS COME INTO PLAY, WE HAVE TO DESIGN SAFE, INCLUSIVE, RESILIENT AND SUSTAINABLE PLACES.

Luisa Bravo

# REPORTING FROM THE AUSTRALIAN FRONT
# PUBLIC SPACE AS A SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

**Abstract**

At the 15th Venice Architecture Biennale, in 2016, the Australian Pavilion hosted an exhibition of a very Australian public space: the swimming pool. A real pool was created in the exhibition space, as a square for people to meet, sit and talk, producing a real engagement, also on a sensorial and emotional level, through scents, sounds and words. The Venice Biennale's curator Alejandro Aravena asked to national creative teams to share stories of architectures who were able to have an impact on the society and improve quality of life. The Pool was then exploring the social importance of Australia's public baths, as playful community gatherings in urban and suburban areas or enchanting and mysterious natural water reliefs in the desert sun. The Pool was able to provide a clear picture of Australian culture, establishing also a platform for public debate with non-architects: it served as a relaxed vessel to show how a public or private facility could and still can behave as a social infrastructure able to bind a multicultural society, tackling complex questions about identity and cross-cultural understanding.

**Keywords**
Australia, pool, identity, culture, society.

**Introduction**

The German mathematician and archaeologist Maria Reiche was used to carry an aluminum ladder while walking the desert in southern Peru in 1940s to study Nazca lines, on the Panamericana Highway 300 miles south-east of Lima. From the height of the stair she could observe these lines creating drawings and huge figures, such as animals, plants and fantastic creatures, and a series of large ancient geoglyphs. From above she could find a meaning in what apparently didn't have any sense on the ground.

When the President of La Biennale di Venezia Paolo Baratta and the Chilean architect and curator Alejandro Aravena met the press to launch the 15th Architecture exhibition, at the beginning of 2016, they showed a picture taken by Bruce Chatwin in 1970s of Maria Reiche on the ladder, while announcing the title of the exhibition: "Reporting from the Front". In response to the variety of challenges and complexities architects have to face in their daily work activities, they explained, the exhibition was willing to give a different perspective of the wilderness standing on the ground, a new point of view, like the one Maria Reiche had on the ladder, in the desert of the contemporary architecture.

Aravena, who was named the 2016 Laureate of the Pritzker Architecture Prize,

> is leading a new generation of architects that has a holistic understanding of the built environment and has clearly demonstrated the ability to connect social responsibility, economic demands, design of human habitat and the city,


Fig. 1. "Is it possible to create a public space in a private commission?", banner at the Arsenale exhibition, 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale (photo: L. Bravo).

as we read in the Pritzker Prize's jury citation. With his ELEMENTAL, a 'Do Tank', as opposed to a think tank, Aravena focused since 2001 on projects of public interest and social impact, including more than 2,500 units of low-cost social housing. Facing the uncertain while being open to the unexpected, Aravena and his team at ELEMENTAL participated in every phase of the complex process of providing dwellings for the underserved: engaging with politicians, lawyers, researchers, residents, local authorities, and builders, in order to obtain the best possible results for the benefit of the residents and society and to create opportunities for those from underprivileged backgrounds.

On the main entrance of the Venice Architecture exhibition, both at Giardini and Arsenale, visitors were welcomed with an introductory statement: "Architecture is giving form to the places where people live. It is not more complicated than that, but also not easier than that". For

Aravena, architecture is a collective discipline, so "Reporting from the Front" focused, with an expanded eye, on the social impacts of architectural endeavour. Informed by a renewed perspective, from above, as suggested by Maria Reiche, architecture, especially when is committed to tackling the global housing crisis and fighting for a better urban environment for all, must be generously and socially engaged, in order to produce a real change and to improve people's quality of life.

The main goal of the Venice Architecture exhibition, as indicated in the curatorial text,

> was about sharing, with a broader audience, the work of people that are scrutinizing the horizon looking for new fields of action, facing issues like segregation, inequalities, peripheries, access to sanitation, natural disasters, housing shortage, migration, informality, crime, traffic, waste, pollution and participation of communities. And simultaneously was about presenting examples where different dimensions were synthesized, integrating the pragmatic with the existential, pertinence and boldness, creativity and common sense.

**The Australian Pavilion at the 15th Venice Architecture Biennale: 'The Pool'**

When Aravena called creative directors of each of the national pavilions, he encouraged them to share stories of architecture 'improving the places where life occurs'.

For the Australian Pavilion, curators Amelia Holliday and Isabelle Toland of Aileen Sage Architects and Michelle Tabet used the pool as a concept to re-examine Australia's cultural identity.

Curators created a real pool within the exhibition space

Fig. 2. The Australian Pavilion by Denton Corker Marshall, for the Australia Council for the Arts, at Giardini exhibition, Venice Biennale (photo: Denton Corker Marshall).

inside the black granite-clad building designed by Denton Corker Marshall, the first 21st century pavilion in Venice's Giardini della Biennale, in the edge of the canal.

An immersive multi-sensory experience was embedded in the exhibition design, to trigger memories and associations of places, with a scent, developed by artists Lyn Balzer and Rony Perkins and realized in collaboration with French scent artist Elise Pioch of Maison Balzac, that evoked the smell of the Australian bush from the smoky residue after bushfire to the petrichor that emanates from the wet earth after rain.

The Pool was also a setting for the sharing of stories. Curators selected eight narratives, each about an aspect of Australian cultural identity and each shedding light on the sustainability of Australian social infrastructures They asked eight prominent cultural leaders from a variety of fields, including literature, science, the arts, sport and music, to serve as testimonials and vehicles of inspi-

Fig. 3. The Pool at the Australian Pavilion, 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale. Curators: Amelia Holliday and Isabelle Toland of Aileen Sage Architects and Michelle Tabet (photo: L. Hayes).

ration: these include the Olympic swimmers Ian Thorpe and Shane Gould, the authors Anna Funder and Christos Tsiolkas, the indigenous art curator Hetti Perkins, the musician Paul Kelly, the fashion designers Anna Plunkett and Like Sales from Romance was Born, and the environmentalist Tim Flannery. They all told their personal and collective stories of fulfilment, inclusion and self-discovery; childhood memories, family gatherings and community events; campaigns for survival and battles for democracy. Those stories were transmitted from portable radio sets dotting the bleachers and illustrated in a newspaper available poolside.

The Pool performed as a real public space: it was surrounded by seating so visitors could sit, talk or even take a dip, slow down and relax, listen, observe and read. It was a place, but also a platform, a bridge between people, where the communal and the personal intersected.

As part of the Australian cultural identity, the pool is a repository of memories, "it represents a distinctively Australian democratic and social space, a great leveller of difference", as reported by Paul Berkemeier, the Chair of the Venice Biennale Committee from the Australian Institute of Architects, in the Australian exhibition catalogue (p. 7). In the post-WWII decades, the access to a public pool in Australia was regarded as a right and not just a luxury, so that it became a generator of social capital for the establishment of a sense of community and to enhance a multicultural, democratic engagement, it became the subject of parliamentary debate (Lewi, 2006). In Australia the poll can take various forms, as a physical place: natural or man-made, island and coastal, temporary and permanent, a waterhole, a dam, a billabong, on the coast, a concrete cavity gouged from the rocks over which the surf spills and crashes. Mysterious and familiar, tame and wild, the pool is a vital, emotional force in Australia: it is more than a place to swim, it is a place for participation and sharing, a place for people to gather, with a significant community value, a stage for impressive sporting feats that fuel the nation's pride.

Today Australia has the highest pool ownership per capita in the world, with 1.2 million private pools and more than 30,000 new ones being installed a year (Papadakis, 2012), costing an average $30,000. Pools are popular in the suburbs, where they are almost an extension of the house, making them visible from living rooms to allow easier supervision of children. Swimming, splashing, diving, playing: pools have a central place in Australian everyday life and cultural identity.


Fig. 4. Fitzroy Baths in Melbourne, with the words 'Aqua profonda', painted on the wall in giant black capital letters. This sign was also reported on the wall of the exhibition space of the Australian Pavilion at the Venice Architecture Biennale (photo: P. Bennetts).

The exhibition catalogue collects many pictures of pools across Australia, such as Bondi Icebergs, New South Wales, one of the most famous winter swimming clubs; Prince Alfred Park Pool, a playful facility in the city of Sydney, where workers are used to have a swim during lunch breaks; Darwin Waterfront Public Domain and Pool, Northern Territory, a beach and wave lagoon designed as safe enclosures to keep swimmers away from the dangerous aquatic life in the open waters; Fitzroy Baths in Melbourne, well-known for the misspelt sign of 'Aqua Profonda' painted at the deep end circa 1953-54, has been a part of local Australian lore for six decades, and is a nod to the relationship between Australia and Italian immigrants.
Pools are also part of the natural environment, like the Contemplative Pool, Cathedral Gorge at Purnululu National Park, Western Australia, an astonishing geological formation where the pool is part of a natural amphitheatre surrounded by a white sandy beach; or the Clovelly Bay enclosure, New South Wales, developed from a natu-

Fig. 5. Clovelly Bay enclosure Clovelly New South Wale (photo: A. Moeez).

rally occurring coastal feature, making it the largest coastal swimming pool; or the so-called 'desert pools' in remote areas inhabited by Indigenous communities, where hot temperatures make them the most valuable asset, like the one in Walungurru, Kintore, Northern Territory. Of the 18 pools in remote communities, seven were built over 20 years ago and five over 35 years ago.

Australian architects have designed amazing pools. The Queensland architect James Birrell designed the Centenary Pool complex, built in 1959 in Brisbane, which comprises several pools, a single storey bath house and a two-storey restaurant and kiosk, a steel and glass plastic composition of forms, intended as an alternative to most rectangular pools. The complex is today a heritage-list swimming pool, for its sophisticated design and for its social significance as a new kind of public space. In Brisbane South Bank, a premier lifestyle and cultural destination, Desmond Brooks Architects, on the grounds of Brisbane's 1988 World Expo, designed a street beach, a resort-style pool complete with imported sand, rocky creeks

and palm trees, with also small lagoons for little ones. This paradise place, patrolled seven days a week by lifeguards, is not fenced and is free for public use, over the Christmas season it hosts an open air cinema. In the Central Business District of Sydney, Bligh Voller Nield in association with Spackman Mossop designed the Cook & Phillip Pool, an indoor swimming pool, a cathedral-like place, as part of the Aquatic Park, that was the recipient of the 2001 RAIA NSW Civic Design Award, for providing a worthy addition to the city's civic realm.

But the pool is also a deeply contested space in Australian history, it emphasized racial discrimination, segregation and social disadvantage. In 1965 the Australian aboriginal activist Charles Perkins, the first Indigenous Australian to graduate tertiary education, led the Freedom Ride, a protest initiated by students at the University of Sydney (inspired by the Freedom Rides protests in the south of the United States initiated in 1961), one of many political actions that Indigenous people took to defend their human rights in Australia. Perkins took some kids at the artesian baths in the town of Moree, thus exposing embedded racism in towns around New South Wales. At that time, Indigenous children were not allowed in the pool. This action was the catalyst for a large demonstration, later regarded as a turning point in the Australian Indigenous civil rights movement (Hamilton, 2016).

## Conclusion

The Pool exhibition at the Venice Architecture Biennale was about public space and was seeking the critical engagement of architects in a broader public space debate

on the civic and social value of the space we design and create. Also, stepping outside of the architect-to-architect discourse, it was aimed to shed new light on a familiar, everyday space pregnant with cultural significance for Australian citizens. As Maria Reiche on the ladder, we, as architects, need to look for new perspectives to establish our own understanding and a conscious awareness on how to deal with evolving society's needs, especially when we design public spaces and public amenities. We must be committed in pursuing the best achievement for the community, dealing with a process where multiple actors come into play, we have to design safe, inclusive, resilient and sustainable places.

This way we can perform as social interpreters of the complexity of the contemporary world, as Aravena suggested, and actively contribute in achieving and serving the public good.

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THE METROPOLITAN CITIES HAVE CHANGED ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BORDERS OF TERRITORIES.
AMONG THE NEW BORDERS, CONNECTIONS AND INTERRELATIONS, THERE EXIST NEW PUBLIC SPACES, WHICH ACT AS COLLECTORS AND FACILITATORS OF RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PLACES, PEOPLE AND MEMORIES.

Marichela Sepe

# PUBLIC SPACE IN INTERNATIONAL REPORTS, CHARTER AND URBAN AGENDA INTEGRATION, CONNECTIONS AND NEW BORDERS

**Abstract**

The metropolitan cities have changed administrative and legislative borders of territories, transforming or trying to transform them in wider and better connected areas, putting together both intangible and tangible, landscape and urban resources. Among the new borders, connections and interrelations, there exist new public spaces, which in different manner act as collectors and facilitators of relationships among places, people and memories. For the socialization and integration of people, the public space covers a very important function in the framework of the urban territories and, for this reason, its quality is an important factor in the construction, reconstruction and enhancement of a sustainable place, where sustainability is meant in its tree-fold meaning, namely social, economic and environmental. In continuity with this approach the idea for a Charter of Public Space and a Global Public Space Toolkit is arisen. Starting from these premises, the article will illustrate the process of construction of both the Charter and the Toolkit, including the *Cities of Tomorrow* report and the New Urban Agenda which represent their main cultural background. In order to assure in-

clusive public space, the presence of official documents with principles, rules and best practices is necessary.

**Keywords**
Public space, charter of public space, integration, connections, new borders.

**Integration, connections and new borders**

Contemporary territory presents new connections, which concern many factors which often are overlapped each other. Environmental disasters and wars, social and economic crisis, the development of technologies, metropolitan plans have lead to new cities and new ways to mean borders. Earthquakes and floods have lead — e.g. — to the destructions of whole cities and places. In some cases the destructed cities have been duplicated elsewhere, resulting that the original cities are remained desert, the new ones little lived and inhabitants have moved elsewhere to find a job. Identity of those cities have been probably cancelled forever, to create places without memory, but maybe still open at transformations. The duplicated cities, often for the lower costs of dwellings, became more accessible to immigrants inserting in these way new cultures, habits and modalities to live these places (Sepe, 2013). Wars are leading many populations to move away from the places of conflict to live in other territories, modifying — also in this case — habits and modalities to live the places. The changes in the households and consequent new needs have caused the transformation of dwellings in order to become more flexible, creating new public-private thresholds, but also new relationships and borders between

spaces, and new connections with places which are external to the home. This has determined the necessity of new kinds of urban containers — such as shopping and multifunctions centres —, capable to welcome the new habits.
New technologies are modifying borders both from physical and virtual points of view. New transport infrastructures — road and rail (high velocity trains) — and low cost flights have neared the distance between many cities and at the same time increased the distance between others, creating new social, economic and cultural relationships.
The virtual networks have created overlapping of cables (virtual and real) and new connections, also in this case social, economic and cultural, even though with different modalities. Internet has easily connected people coming from places which are often very far each other, but sometimes very close, generating new modalities of socialization, of which social networks constitute one of the principle demonstration. New borders which are more expanded than previous ones are arisen in place of geographical or administrative ones, but capable to influence movements, fluxes and opinions.
Furthermore, Internet has created new kinds of commerce (e-commerce), new way of working and communicating initiatives and activities, with different effects: from new modalities of purchase, to new ways of working but also new possibilities of working or reintegrating in the job, web portals to promote participative actions and advertise in more rapid way activities, places and so on.
The metropolitan cities have changed administrative and legislative borders of territories, transforming o trying to transform them (in some territories the metropol-

itan cities are still only on the paper and not realized) in wider and better-connected areas, putting together both intangible and tangible, landscape and urban resources (Porfyriou, Sepe, 2017).

Among the new borders, connections and interrelations, there exist new public spaces, which in different manner — when these are barrier-free — act as collectors, optimizators and facilitators of relationships among places, people and memories.

For the socialization and integration of people, the public space covers a very important function in the framework of the urban territories and, for this reason. Its quality is an important factor in the construction, reconstruction and enhancement of a sustainable place, where sustainability is meant in its tree-fold meaning, namely social, economic and environmental.

In continuity with this approach the idea for a Charter of Public Space and a Global Public Space Toolkit is arisen. Starting from these premises, the article will illustrate the process of construction of both the Charter and the Toolkit, including the *Cities of Tomorrow* report and the New Urban Agenda which represent their main cultural background. In order to assure inclusive public space, the presence of official documents with principles, rules and best practices is necessary.

**European urban policies and public space**

The creation of suitable social urban policies represents a fundamental element which enables a process of creation or transformation of public space to start. The central position of cities in the creation of urban policies has en-

couraged the European Commission to adopt measures in order to elaborate an Urban Agenda both for the different cities of the States and the European Commission. The process of construction of the New Urban Agenda started in 2011. In October 2011, the European Commission, publishes the *Cities of Tomorrow. Challenges, visions, ways forward* report, putting the basis for an integrated approach to the urban policies, whose strong sectoriality caused many problems further heightened by the economic and financial crisis. The threats that are identified within the report regard the demographic decline, climate changes, and social segregation caused by the economic decrease. Furthermore, strong attention is given to both the problems due to exhausting of natural resources and environmental questions (Carpenter, 2006; Sepe, 2009, 2014; Van den Berg et al., 2007). The *Cities of Tomorrow* report contains many principles, which outline the integrated approach to sustainability. All the declination of sustainability are considered, making in particular appear a strong attention to the social aspects. In the document is affirmed that European Cities are places which have to be an high degree of social cohesion and with slow diversity within and between neighbourhood and a low degree of social segregation and marginalization, with a good access to the general services, health prevention and medical treatments. These are places where: elderly persons can conduct a both dignified and independent life and participate to the social and cultural life; neighboroughs are attractive for immigrants; people with disabilities have independence and are integrated from social and occupational point of view; men and women

are equal and the children rights are protected. Cities, following the document directives, have to manage a set of environmental questions, such as air and water quality, energy, waste and natural resources. There are the places where many components of the natural ecosystem interact with those of the urban, political, cultural and economic system. In order to avoid segregation, green neighboroughs need to be convenient and allow a mix of functions and socio-economic groups. A gradual retrofitting of houses have to be programmed in order to reduce energy consumption and adapting it to the new environmental conditions. The retrofitting must not compromise the sustainability of the housing costs and must avoid migration fluxes towards suburban areas. A challenge for all cities is to be able to reconcile cultural and economic heritage with the touristic potential.

The European Cities of tomorrow are defined as places of attraction and engines of economic growth, where creativity and innovation are stimulated and knowledge is shared and diffused. The excellence is obtained through a proactive innovation, educational policies, on going formation for workers and technologies for communication used for education, employment, safety and urban governance. These have a high quality of life, architecture, users of public space, infrastructures and services. Within these, cultural, economic, technological and social aspects are integrated in the planning and construction, housing, employment, education, and services are mixed, attracting in this way the relationship between world of knowledge and world of industry and a qualified and creative workforce and tourism. Furthermore these are plac-

es of regenerated urban local economies, diversified local production systems, local labour market policies where endogenous economic forces in the neighbourhoods are used and both consume green local products and have short consumption circuits.

Other central topics within the European City of tomorrow report include public space topic. In the Report is affirmed that a sustainable city should have attractive public spaces. The quality and aesthetic of urban environments and public spaces are important factors for the attractiveness of the city. Within the European City of Tomorrow, presence of public spaces within a generally aesthetic environment can act as a symbol of a city and of a living together, and create a sense of belonging of the city in its population. In the document, it is auspicated that public spaces are places of encounter for immigrants, elderlies and of accommodation for children and have specific functions such as libraries, playgrounds, education, and so on. Mixed functions between buildings and public spaces can also facilitate communication, opportunity of work and innovation.

Finally, the European City of Tomorrow are places where heritage and historic value of buildings and public spaces are taken into account for the development and enhancement of urban scene, landscape and place and where local residents identify them selves with urban environment.

**From the *Cities of Tomorrow* report to the Charter of public space**

In this framework, the idea of a Charter of public space to be presented in the Habitat III Conference is arisen.

The idea of a Charter of Public Space was launched by Pietro Garau, international curator of the Biennial of Public Space. The need for a shared definition of public space was what prompted by he international curator of the Biennial of Public Space to launch in 2013 the idea of a *Charter of Public Space*. The Charter's roadmap involved several steps, which included: a layout (loom) as a conceptual support for the first draft; national and international literature reviews (references, case studies, analysis of other documents, etc.); a 1.0 draft version; sharing of this version with the 2013 Biennial's coordinators (Biennial Work Groups, Scientific Committee, competitions, calls, and workshops coordinators), including UN Habitat; review of the draft version on the basis of feedback and comments from the 2013 Biennial's project co-ordinators; finally, the draft Charter's posting on the Biennial web site to solicit additional inputs for a complete draft version to be presented at the Charter workshop at the final event of the 2013 Biennial of Public Space (Garau et al., 2015).

All 50 amendments adopted by consensus were inserted in the final version, which was then presented in both languages at the plenary session of the Biennial, during which the Charter was adopted by acclamation. The Charter has been presented at several international conferences, translated and published in eight languages, and, as a final step, at the Quito Habitat III Conference, October, 2016.

The Charter consists in a preamble, which clarifies the importance of public space and the goals of the Charter itself; a definition of public space, followed by a description of various typologies of public spaces; a series of re-

commendations for the creation, management and enjoyment of public space, and a description of constrains to be overcome in order to connect these three aspects to aspects, equally important to develop public spaces of quality. The Charter's key elements are: a clear and understandable definition of public space: public space as a public good; reasonable and shared principles regarding the creation, design, realization, maintenance, enjoyment and transformation of public space; all in a concise document and, like public space, accessible to all. The *Charter of Public Space* is meant as a document for all those who believe in the city and in its extraordinary ability for hospitality, solidarity, conviviality and sharing; in its inimitable virtue in encouraging social interaction, encounter, togetherness, freedom and democracy; and in its calling for giving life to these values through public space. At the same time, cities show the worsening of economic, social, ethnic, cultural and generational inequalities. Public space is in the Charter meant as the place where citizenship rights are guaranteed and differences are respected and appreciated. The enjoyment of public space is intimately linked to its civil, respectful and responsible use. As regards, some of the 50 Charter principles include:

6. Public spaces are all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive. Each public space has its own spatial, historic, environmental, social and economic features.
7. Public spaces are a key element of individual and social well-being, the places of a community's collective life, expressions of the diversity of their common natural and cultural richness and a foundation of their identity,

as expressed by the European Landscape Convention. The community recognizes itself in its public places and pursues the improvement of their spatial quality.

10. Public spaces, whenever safeguards of natural or historical value allow, must be made accessible without barriers to the motorial, sensorially and intellectively handicapped.

16. Every public space should be designed with full consideration for diversity.

22. Within public-space networks it is also advisable to identify polarities and aggregative phenomena, with a view to prevent psychological obstacles from reinforcing physical ones. The interconnection and improvement of public space as a strategy for upgrading peripheries and suburban areas should include improving connections, the enhancement of multifunctionality and access and the reduction of phenomena of privatization and exclusion.

23. Eliminating and/or overcoming the physical barriers that impede or limit access to certain categories of users is therefore a priority goal to pursue both in the design of new public spaces and in the adaptation of existing ones.

24. In extension plans of newly urbanizing cities, whose population will double over the next 10-20 years (Africa and Asia), it is very important to guarantee sufficient amounts of well connected and adequately proportioned public spaces.

28. In areas destroyed by catastrophic events public spaces must be the starting point of the reconstruction process.

31. The following can be considered constraints on the

creation, management and enjoyment of good public spaces:

c. The declining inclination of citizens to affirm their rights;

d. The weakening of social cohesion, the little regard for public goods on the part of large portions of the citizenry and the increasing frequency of acts of vandalism;

43. All citizens, regardless of their role, are users of public space. All of them have the right to access and enjoy it in complete freedom, within the rules of civic coexistence. In cities ever more complex and diverse, this requires democratic processes, dialogue and regard for diversity.

47. The peaceful use of public spaces for rallies, marches and demonstrations is an integral expression of democracy. Therefore, such use cannot be denied without valid and justified motivations.

50. The good use of public spaces is closely linked to their mutability and adaptability in relation to the changing needs of citizens (Garau, Lancerin, Sepe, 2015).

**The Global Public Space Toolkit and the New Urban Agenda**

The Charter has become an international reference, as well as the conceptual framework for the Global Public Space Toolkit promoted by Pietro Garau with Un-Habitat and Inu (Italian National Urban Planning Institute) (Garau et al., 2015). "The aim of this toolkit — has affirmed by Joan Clos (Executive Director of UN Habitat) — is to guide policies and strategies at city level and to provide examples linking policies to practices". The toolkit is a practical reference for local governments to frame and

implement policy recommendations and development initiatives on public space. "It also serves the purpose of demonstrating the value of the involvement of the citizenry and civil society in securing, developing and managing public space in the city".

The Charter and the Toolkit were presented in the context of the Habitat III Conference:

> The preparatory process of Habitat III required the mobilization of all expertise on sustainable urban development which represents various constituent groups and stakeholders, and whose selection is guided by geographical and gender balance, as well as qualitative criteria in terms of contribution to the Habitat III preparatory process. (www.unhabitat.org)

One of the step of the preparatory process was the discussion in policy units including the topics: The Right to the City and Cities for All; Socio-Cultural Urban Framework; National Urban Policies; Urban Governance, Capacity and Institutional Development; Municipal Finance and Local Fiscal Systems; Urban Spatial Strategies; Urban Economic Development Strategies; Urban Ecology and Resilience; Urban Services and Technology; Housing Policies. The policy units concerning Urban Spatial Strategies was the main framework for the discussion concerning the Charter, the Toolkit and the questions concerning public space and equity.

The final result of the Conference has led to the New Urban Agenda which was approved October, 17th, with the contribution of all State members and including all the topics discussed in the previous stages. The new Urban Agenda is organized in topics — Managing rapid urbanization, Managing rural-urban linkages, Addressing urban

youth needs, Responding to the needs of the aged, Integrating gender in urban development, Challenges experienced and lessons learnt in these areas, Future challenges and issues in these areas that are addressed by a New Urban Agenda.

All the above parts of process have contributed to the presence of the public space topic — and the related themes concerning social equity, integration, and adaptation — in the Urban Agenda. Accordingly, some of the principles adopted in the New Urban Agenda include:

35. We commit to promote safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces, including streets, sidewalks and cycling lanes, squares, waterfront areas, gardens, and parks that are multi-functional areas for social interaction and inclusion, human health and well-being, economic exchange, and cultural expression and dialogue among a wide diversity of people and cultures, and which are designed and managed to ensure human development, build peaceful, inclusive, and participatory societies, as well as promote living together, connectivity, and social inclusion.

38. We commit to embrace diversity in cities and human settlements, to strengthen social cohesion, intercultural dialogue and understanding, tolerance, mutual respect, gender equality, innovation, entrepreneurship, inclusion, identity and safety, and the dignity of all people, as well as to foster liveability and a vibrant urban economy. We also commit to ensure that our local institutions promote peaceful and pluralistic co-existence within increasingly heterogeneous and multi-cultural societies.

## Conclusion

The paper has illustrated some documents which focus on public space policies and take in particular attention the topics concerning social inclusion, equity and immigration from an integrating point of view. In particular, within the introduction of the paper the general framework to understand different and integrated way to approach the questions related to both inclusion and immigration is explained.

Among the new borders, connections and interrelations there exist new public spaces, which in different manner — when these are barrier-free — act as collectors and facilitators of relationships among places, people and memories. For the socialization and integration of people, the public space covers a very important function in the framework of the urban territories and, for this reason, its quality is an important factor in the construction, reconstruction and enhancement of a sustainable place, where sustainability is meant in its tree-fold meaning, namely social, economic and environmental.

Starting by the European City of Tomorrow Report, the paper show the most important principles of the Charter of Public Space, the Global Public Space Toolkit and the main concept of the new Urban Agenda, adopted in Quito Habitat III Conference.

As affirmed in the Agenda:

> We will support increased allocation of financial and human resources for the upgrading and, to the extent possible, the prevention of slums and informal settlements with strategies that go beyond physical and environmental improvements, to ensure that slums and informal settlements are integrated into the social, economic, cultural, and polit-

> ical dimensions of cities. These strategies should include, as applicable, access to sustainable, adequate, safe, and affordable housing, basic and social services; and safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces; and they should promote security of tenure and its regularization, as well as measures for conflict prevention and mediation.

Now cities have all the necessary 'documents' to realize and promote inclusive and quality public space and urban environments. Next steps should concern — according with the different urban situations of the State members — the transformation of all principles in practices.

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A NEW MODEL OF URBAN LIFE. A MODEL BASED ON THE VALORISATION OF DIFFERENCES, ON NEW PARADIGMS AND VALUES THAT […] CONSIDERS THE CITY AS A HYBRID SPACE IN WHICH THRONGS OF BODIES, COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION, HISTORICAL MEMORIES, SMELLS, AND HABITS USE SPACES IN A DIFFERENT MANNER.

Iacopo Zetti, Maddalena Rossi

# URBAN FRAGMENTS AND FRINGE AREAS, IN-BETWEEN SPACES AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CITY

**Abstract**

In this text we present and discuss the first results of a research about the characteristics of what are defined as in-between and marginal spaces, produced by processes to restructure the traditional urban fabric, in a framework of regional growth of built-up areas. They are the result of planning errors, or more often oversights, and they nestle in the physical, symbolic and political mesh of the urban fabric. Frequently considered as the back of the official city, as downgraded and deprived sites they are presented here, on the contrary as significant in terms of hospitality for new communities, innovative production experiences, and ecological and recreational functions. A milieu where we can imagine a future of coexistence between diversities and plural citizenships if we accept a stile of planning and design implying creative disorder, experimental attitude and the uncertainty needed to open field of possibilities for new communities.

**Keywords**

Rehabilitation of urban spaces, public spaces, city of commons, marginal areas, urban planning.

## Introduction

Contemporary cities and regions undergo processes of structural transformation of their settlement layouts, which gives them a regional, transcalar and interconnected character (Soja, 2011). The urban fabric is transformed through a deeply modified context of growth of the built, and produces a proliferation of in-between spaces, meaning those lesser spaces, usually interpreted as the rear side of the planned city and often seen as areas in a state of decay. At the same time, in opposition to the dominant and consolidated settlement forms, a diffused network of neglected and interstitial spaces is taking shape at the various regional scales. The research to which this text refers focuses on these spaces and proposes an alternative interpretation of them. It sees in them important places in the sense that they are full of potential and that they provide answers to new social, economic and environmental instances that emerge from the processes of transformation of the contemporary city.

This article presents the first results of a work in progress, developed by the Department of Architecture of the University of Florence. The work originated in an investigation regarding the nature of in-between spaces and analyses them at various scales in some highly representative areas in Tuscany, proposing, upon completion, to identify certain elements for their re-designing. Concerning methodology, the theoretical reflection is based upon quantitative and qualitative analyses. Quantitative analyses attempt to identify procedures for the study and assessment of the social, economic and environmental sustainability of in-between spaces, aimed at their re-design, and

are structured combining GIS techniques, spatial analysis tools and techniques for the assessment of eco-systemic services (Rovai, Fastelli, 2014). The qualitative analyses are aimed at surveying uses, monitoring decay and documenting sensory and perceptive elements present in in-between areas. These are developed as exploration activities carried out on new urban landscapes, according to the practice of urban reconnaissance (Tripodi, 2014), which refers in particular to the discipline of rhythmanalysis postulated by Henri Lefevbre.

This short text begins with a reflection regarding the concept of in-between spaces in recent literature concerning urban studies. It presents, thus, a first description of the classifying methodology derived from the analysis undertaken in a sample area (central-northern Tuscany, Metropolitan Area of Florence-Prato) and a cataloguing of the various typologies in which in-between spaces present themselves. It concludes with some preliminary reflections concerning the design approach that should guide their re-qualification and the contribution they can make to the creation of a city characterised by the valorisation and the encounter of differences and of new forms of citizenship.

**In-between spaces and urban studies**

The deep processes of transformation of the structural layouts that characterise almost all contemporary settlements are of such magnitude that they propose a new debate on the fundamental elements of what can be defined as urban (Young et al., 2011). This transformation includes, first of all, the re-scaling of the social-spatial relationships

within and between cities, which are thus increasingly reconfigured as cities-regions. This phenomenon redefines the social, environmental and technological metabolisms which support the cities in relational terms and produces a regional polysemy which oscillates between connection and disjunction. The proliferation of 'in-between spaces' within the meshes of new urban developments, understood as those abandoned, residual places, often interpreted as the rear end of the planned city, is a consequence of this process of general reconfiguration of urban realities. These spaces seem to have become a predominant component of contemporary cities (Brighenti, 2013; Gibelli, 2003; Sieverts, 2011), having become widespread, as both morphology and event (Brighenti, 2013) in those physical, symbolic and political interstices of the territorial fabric (Secchi, 2013), which has thus become a series of archipelagos of islands and enclaves. Juxtaposed to the consolidated settlement forms, a new urban geography is thus taking shape, in the form of ambiguous and disquieting physical elements, characterised by opposed forces in constant transformation (Sieverts, 2011), placed in a condition that is somehow 'diminished' (Brighenti, 2013) regarding traditional urban landscapes, and characterised by a fractal and fragmented nature.

These spaces coincide, alternatively, with the great abandoned forms of the Modern era, such as the ex-storage areas, ex-military sites, ex-airports or abandoned factories (Sieverts, 2011); with those residual fragments of the great suburban areas of the second after-war period, where social marginalisation is often associated to a morphological interstitiality derived from an urban design in which

public space was used as a banal instrument for satisfying urban planning standards; with transition zones between the suburbs and the peri-urban fringes themselves (Cavaliere, Socco, 2007); with agricultural areas enclosed between the new containers of contemporary urban planning (Sieverts, 2011), such as the platforms for commerce, logistics and research and of the new health institutions, but also with the remains of the countryside surrounded by the 'urban filaments' (Augé, 2007) of the new residential buildings. In-between spaces take on the appearance of zones devoted to the great infrastructures of movement, of airports, ports, inter-ports, railway stations, motorways, petrol stations and motorway rest stops (Augé, 2004). They have the suspended time of unfinished worksites or of the new geography of crisis with their unfinished works. They include, finally, water purification plants, incinerators, dumps and any other element which disturbs the dominant city, while being, however, necessary for its proper functioning.

From the social point of view these spaces are associated to insterstitial subjects and to marginality, finding concrete form in a landscape of extreme spatial segregation (Sieverts, 2011), such as in the case of Romani camps or in the experience of informal responses to dwelling needs; or else spaces where spontaneous practices of management of urban commons assets are reinvented, practices which thus characterise them as spaces of struggle and resistance (Madanipour, 2004); or else, much more often, they are places abandoned to the flow of a muted time, that is suspended in a condition of awaiting (Berger, 2007; Clément, 2004; Sola-Morales, 1995).

The geographic context in which they are mostly diffused is that of the *Zwischenstadt* (Sieverts, 2011, p. 1), which defines the zones that are the result of recent transformations and which are neither city nor countryside, without, however, being a suburb either. They assume a particular urban morphology which is characterised, from a physical point of view, by a fractal and fragmented form, diffused in a form that is similar to itself throughout the world and in which the 'in-between spaces' are the undisputed protagonists.

**The case study**

The research led to an exploration of the manifestation of 'in-between spaces' in a sample area, analysing it on two different scales: that of the urbanisation of central-northern Tuscany and that of the metropolitan area of Florence-Prato.

The interpretation of 'in-between spaces', in this first phase, resulted in their classification (summarised in an atlas), through an interpretative device structured around two fundamental parameters: the scale of manifestation of the phenomenon and the intensity of its management.

The need to use the scale as a fundamental variant in their analysis is due to the fact that multi-scalarity, induced by the re-hierarchisation of the urban element in a regional perspective, is an intrinsic feature of in-between spaces. They are manifested, therefore, and according to the context of analysis of the space in question, on different territorial scales, from micro (infra-ordinary spaces) — to macro (urban region), producing interrelations of various types and depths between the local and the wider levels

and assuming, from time to time, quite different morphological and relational connotations.

The management of the phenomenon and the intensity with which it is addressed is a fact that includes the degree of intentionality of the project at the base of the formation of the individual in-between space, with its actual (formal or informal) use. Intermediate spaces are originated in that hyatus that appears between the planning actions, on the one hand, and the relaxation of this planning, on the other (Young et al., 2011). They are often originated, in fact, as residues of multiple planning processes; or as products of a single rationality belonging to actors that move according to contingencies, outside of a strategic and integrated vision (Sieverts, 2011); or else due to the absence of actions or to their suspension; finally, they can originate as a consequence of informal actions which modify the urban layout.

**Reflections**

The analysis carried out to this point has highlighted some features of in-between spaces which allow overcoming the negative and conflictual image associated to them, coming to consider them instead as spaces which offer a wealth of possibilities. In them, in fact, are condensed the main contemporary urban issues: urban ecology and metabolism, new rural contexts and food networks, urban re-generation and governance of complex processes, new citizenships and inclusion. In virtue of this they take on a significant and fundamental role in the re-definition and re-design of contemporary urban space. A design aimed at a renewed quality of life and characterised by valorisation

and the coming together of ethnic and cultural differences, as well as of the new citizenships.

These contexts are often inhabited by new and varied communities who bring informal and self-organised answers to unsatisfied urban questions and needs (housing, public space, food security). Communities which assume, as the foundation of their activity, a concept of the territory as common good, interpreted as a place for the creation of new answers to the old, but still current Lefevbrian 'right to the city', guaranteeing a quality of life and re-actualising the meaning of public space as an inclusive, creative space, "marked by the unfettered circulation of bodies" (Amin, 2008, p. 12) and thus, by definition, multiracial and multicultural.

Only traces of this exist, yet, looking at the contents that take form in these containers (vegetable gardens, public spaces re-interpreted by minorities, etc.) there is a feeling of being before micro-signals of a new model of urban life. A model based on the valorisation of differences, on new paradigms and values that begin to take shape and which consider the city as a hybrid space in which throngs of bodies, collective imagination, historical memories, smells, and habits use spaces in a different manner. The contradiction that arises from the juxtaposition of people in movement (often forced), brought together in the everyday life of the urban space they inhabit, may be converted, in these contexts, into an asset through the construction of a new relationship between territories only apparently marginal, and new populations that coexist with those historically present in them.

The everyday-life tactics (De Certeau, 1990) which often

take advantage of the folds in the built fabric in order to resist to social marginalisation, of which immigration is often the victim, may thus be the object of urban planning or at least an ingredient to be considered in the design of a city based on relationships and innovation, rather than only on control of land use.

From that perspective, 'in-between spaces' may be seen as the new no man's land of contemporary cities, from which to begin to create a future of coexistence between diversities and citizenships.

Without denying the problematic and introverted nature of these spaces and issues, the research understood that they favour and make possible new perspectives through which to attempt an interpretation and a re-generation of contemporary urban realities. 'In-between spaces' thus assume a fundamental importance for urban and regional planning and design, and present themselves as pioneer places for new experimentation and innovation. To work on in-between spaces as places of possibilities thus implies a complete reversal of the outlook on their nature: from fragmented to relational. Only in this way can they become able to offer the possibility of a radical viewpoint from which to observe, create and imagine alternatives and new worlds, connecting spaces with which to weave new urban fabrics and geographies. An overturning of perspective and a radical approach which require affirming and guaranteeing rights that bring together the new with the old forms of citizenship. The following are four rights highlighted by Jordi Borja: to public space as a basic condition for justice; to political innovation which is necessary in urban spaces in order to provide answers to

new needs; the "right of all residents of a city to the same political-legal status as a citizen", where citizenship and nationality are completely different concepts; and finally the right to the protection from unlawfulness by the institutions of the city, which serves to "transform a non-recognised need into a legal right" (Borja, 2001).

Paraphrasing Hirschman, we could say that the role of design, in this context, is to know how to be involved by the creative disorder (1958, see also Sennett, 1970), favouring processes of self-organisation aimed not at the production of spaces useful for certain behavioural models, but rather "an evolutionary play of interaction, experimentation and learning".

In-between spaces require a stance which is experimental, open, responsible and creative (De Carlo, 1964), yet also uncertain, in the sense that it is not aimed at materialising an option in their configuration, but to open fields of multiple possibilities which new communities will ascribe meaning to.

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THE TENSION GENERATED BY DIFFERENT WAYS OF APPROPRIATION OF A SAME SPACE INCREASES ON ONE SIDE ITS ANTHROPOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE, BUT OBVIOUSLY MAY ON THE OTHER LEAD TO CONFLICTS. THESE ARE NOT ALIEN TO PUBLIC SPACE, BUT CAN RESULT EITHER IN THE INCREASE OR DIMINUTION OF ITS PLURALITY, REINFORCING ITS ROLE AS A CATALYST OF SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OR, ON THE CONTRARY, MAKING OF IT THE LITMUS TEST OF THE CONTRADICTIONS AND SOCIAL DISEASE IN A SPECIFIC URBAN CONTEXT.

Francesco Alberti, Giuseppe De Luca

# PIAZZA INDIPENDENZA IN FLORENCE AND THE LOCAL FILIPINO COMMUNITY: THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON HISTORIC PUBLIC SPACES

**Abstract**

Public space may be the place either of integration or conflict between locals and immigrants. The paper is focused on the case study of Piazza Indipendenza in Florence, elected by the Filipino community living inside and around the city as its main meeting and recreational place, where both aspects co-exist. Because of its location in an UNESCO heritage site, as well as its peculiar features, which are analysed in the paper according to different parameters, the case is presented as a significant example of how migration, in the lack of *ad-hoc* policies, may affect from different points of view the perception and the 'publicness' itself of public spaces in consolidated historic contexts.

**Keywords**

Historic city, immigration, public space, social inclusion, urban conflicts

## Potentials and contradictions of traditional public spaces in the time of migrations

Meaning, use and image of public spaces change according to time and place, reflecting social and economic transformations, as well as physical and functional ones in the concerned urban areas. Very important are also the material, psychological and self-representation needs of users (either individuals or groups), their system of values and the way they perceive public space.

In compact, pre-automobile urban fabrics, built with regards to human dimension and measured on walking mobility, the availability of public spaces, that have maintained or re-conquered an easy accessibility by foot or bicycle, represents, according to Jan Ghel (2010), a strong attraction *per se* for recreational activities of a wide range of social actors. Such 'optional' activities, interweaving themselves with the movements generated by 'necessary' ones — due to business, study or health needs — relaunch and update the idea of the city as a meeting point: a vocation, traditionally recognized in public spaces, that the development of ICTs, and especially mobile devices, may reinforce (instead of threatening it, as commonly assumed). In democratically governed cities, the presence together of aleatory, unpredictable uses, may be considered as an indicator of social sustainability:

> It is a significant quality that all groups of society, regardless of age, income, status, religion or ethnic background, can meet face to face in city space as they go about their daily business. This is a good way to provide general information to everybody about the composition and universality of society. It also makes people feel more secure and confident about experiencing the common human values played out in many different contexts. (Ghel, 2010, p. 28)

For Marcel Roncayolo (1993) the greater or lesser propensity of urban spaces to play in the contemporary city a supporting role for social practices is closely linked to their connotation as 'espaces multiples': that is spaces able on one hand to host multiple activities at the same time or at different times of the day, and on the other hand to put in relation urban functions, different in kind or level, directly or through the connection with other spaces. Access modes to such spaces should not be strictly specialized as well — as it occurs in exclusively pedestrian areas:

> *Il y a un ville à partir du moment où c'est à la fois ludique et industriel, piétonnier et mécanique. Les véritables problèmes urbains sont des problèmes d'articulation et non pas des problèmes de division.* (Roncayolo, 1993, p. 37)

These considerations may lead to highlight a list of characteristics that can make the difference between urban spaces classified as 'public' and really living public spaces. Richard Ingersoll (2016) identifies five major indicators:

> 1. accessibility (more than 3 points of approach); 2. human scale (5 minutes to cross); 3) density of political and commercial functions; 4) democratic attractions (water, art, sports); 5) crossed programs (biographical diversity).

The first one is a precondition for use; the other ones seem to confirm the potential that the compact, not functionally segregated traditional city may still have in the provision of social spaces of aggregation. The last indicator refers, in line with Rocayolo's point of view, to the polysemy of public space, resulting from the subjective projections of users — individuals or groups — among which differences (age, income, status, religion or ethnic background, but also gender, education, personal attitudes and inclinations, etc.) play once again a significant role.

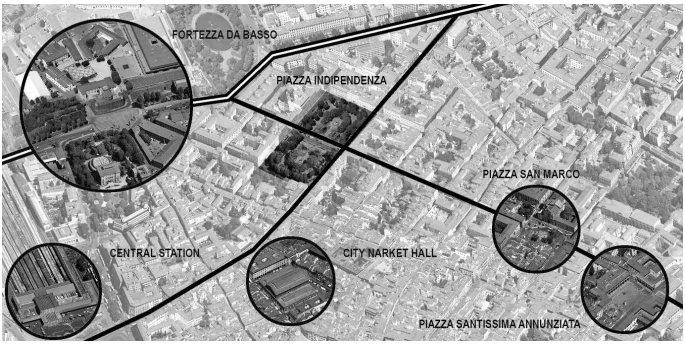



Fig. 1. Piazza Indipendenza is a nodal public space in the North-East sector of the historic city centre of Florence.

The tension generated by different ways of appropriation of a same space increases on one side its anthropological significance, but obviously may on the other lead to conflicts. These are not alien to public space, but can result either in the increase or diminution of its plurality, reinforcing its role as a catalyst of social sustainability or, on the contrary, making of it the litmus test of the contradictions and social disease in a specific urban context.

Piazza Indipendenza in Florence is a public space at the same time full of potential and contradictions, and certainly an interesting case study for the combination of several factors:

- its 'absolute' position, inside the perimeter of the UNESCO area of the city (Fig. 1), as well as its 'relative' position with respect to the topography of relationships, defined by the movements of different typologies of users;
- its hybrid nature — both square and garden — inside a high density urban fabric, lacking of alternative public spaces, which makes it even more precious in the eyes of locals — a place to preserve at any cost from the change of surrounding conditions;

- .the presence, gradually grown over the last two decades, of groups of migrants from different countries, and, especially, of a significant part of the Filipino community living in and around the city, which has chosen Piazza Indipendenza as its main meeting place;
- the weak, if not ambiguous, role played by the municipality, siding in turn opposite positions while facing the ongoing situation: the demand of protection of the square or impactful sectoral solution for the traffic, social inclusion or 'zero tolerance'; on the other hand, the parallel role played by Catholic institutions for the religious and, in part, also social integration of the Filipino community in the city;
- the image of Piazza Indipendenza as a symbol place of the historic centre's urban decay, as it has been often depicted by local media, amplifying the inconveniences caused by the difficult coexistence between old residents and 'new citizens'. This sort of message usually brings to a vicious circle between perceived and actual risk conditions, rather than to an in-depth collective awareness of real problems, aimed to progressively overcome them in a positive way.

**Piazza Indipendenza in Florence: past and present of a twofold urban square**

Piazza Indipendenza is a wide rectangular public space (100x230m) in the regular block pattern of a neighbourhood, built in the 40ies of the 19th century inside the late-medieval urban walls, between the Fortress of San Giovanni Battista (also called 'Fortezza da Basso') and the first railway station of Florence. Both the square and the


Fig. 2. Piazza Indipendenza in 1860 ca.
Fig. 3. Piazza Indipendenza today.

station were originally dedicated to Maria Antonia Borbone, wife of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The present name, dating back to 1870 ca., refers to the pacific revolt for independency started in the square in 1859, which triggered the process of annexation of Tuscany to the Reign of Savoy.

In the following decades the square was more or less directly involved in great infrastructural works that modified the urban structure of the district, as well as its layout (Fig. 2). These works are:

- the opening through the historic centre of an access road to the Maria Antonia station (Via Nazionale), tangent to Piazza Indipendenza (1861);
- the demolition of the city walls and the construction in their place of a ring of large avenues (1865);
- the completion of a direct access road from the ring avenues to the city centre, by means of a stretch crossing the square exactly in the middle, that has divided it into two symmetric halves (1929);
- the building of the new big central station of Florence in the place of the old Maria Antonia station (1935).

The present arrangement of the inner gardens (Fig. 3) is the result of different interventions carried out between 1869 and 1953. In 1983, such an arrangement was about to be completely upset by the construction of one of the

big underground car parks planned in that time around the historic center. Against the project, the first civic committee in the recent history of Florence was formed by neighbourhood residents. After a long standoff with the municipality, the committee obtained the cancellation of the car park at Piazza Indipendenza from the plan. Thirty years later, the construction of an automated car park under one half of the square was newly admitted by the Planning Regulation (Regolamento Urbanistico) approved in 2014: a decision that ignited again the controversy and pushed back the neighbourhood committee on the warpath against the municipality.

Talking about the present role of Piazza Indipendenza as a public space, it's easy to see that all five performance indicators proposed by Ingersoll are fully met (Tab. 1; Fig. 4a-e). Different 'publics' frequent the square, among which a remarkable number are immigrants, especially from Philippines, North Africa and East Europe. Some of them live in the neighbourhood (in the centre of Florence, the area between the Central Station and the Central Market Hall is one of those with the highest concentration of foreign population) and have children who attend kindergarten, primary or secondary classes at the comprehensive school Gaetano Pieraccini, a few steps from the square. Other immigrants frequent the closest surroundings of Piazza Indipendenza attracted by specific functions: the Immigration Office of Florence (where non-EU citizens have to go for residence permit in Italy), the railway station, the Market Hall and the street market of San Lorenzo, where many foreign people work.

For Filipinos, the points of interest around Piazza Indi-

| | |
|---|---|
| ACCESSIBILITY | The square is close to the ring avenues and to the central railway station.<br>It is located at the intersection between two important roads of the historic centre and has seven points of access from the street network (in restricted traffic zone).<br>Bus stops, a taxi park, bicycle racks and a charging point for electric vehicles are present in the square.<br>A light rail line is under construction, with a stop at the Fortress of San Giovanni Battista (Fortezza da Basso), 2 min. walk from the square. |
| HUMAN SCALE | Well-balanced ratio between the buildings and the empty space.<br>The square may be crossed diagonally on foot in less than 5 min. |
| DENSITY OF POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL FUNCTIONS | Inside the square:<br>• newsstand and flower kiosk.<br>Functions located along the perimeter of the square:<br>• University (Faculty of Economics), student hotel;<br>• Clinic and medical test centre;<br>• 2 hotels, 1 restaurant, 2 bars (one with outdoor terrace);<br>• Hairdressing salon;<br>• Several professional practices.<br>Many shops and activities are located in the adjacent streets (via Nazionale, Via S. Caterina d'Alessandria, Via 27 Aprile).<br>Functions and places within 5 min. walk from the square:<br>• School complex "Gaetano Pieraccini" (kindergarten, elementary and middle school);<br>• Central market hall;<br>• Central railway station and shop gallery;<br>• City Exhibition centre (at Fortezza da Basso), Business and Congress centre;<br>• State police – immigration office;<br>• Piazza San Marco (Saint Mark's Museum, Fine Arts Academy, University headquarters). |
| DEMOCRATIC ATTRACTIONS | Lawn, trees (Piazza Indipendenza is one of the few shadowed public spaces in the city centre).<br>19th Century urban furnishing (street lamps and seats).<br>2 monuments to prominent figures in the history of Florence (one in each half of the square);<br>Children playground;<br>Drinking fountain. |
| CROSSED PROGRAMS (BIOGRAPHICAL DIVERSITY) | Different kinds of public during the day, that is:<br>• Dogs owners (morning and evenings);<br>• Neighbourhood residents;<br>• Tourists;<br>• Italian and foreign university students;<br>• School children with families;<br>• Clients of the bars and the restaurant;<br>• Little groups of migrants (generally only men or only women with babies):<br>• Meeting point for the Filipino community (esp. on Thursdays and Sundays – until late night);<br>• Other. |

Tab. 1.

pendenza include also their Consulate in Via Ridolfi and the church of Saint Barnabas in Via Guelfa, home to a Filipino Catholic community. Moreover, the present Honorary Consul of Philippines, with Italian nationality, is the owner of the medical test centre in the square. The church of Saint Barnabas was granted in 1988 to the Filipino community by the Archdiocese of Florence as a place of both worship and social gathering. The connection between the church and Piazza Indipendenza was not immediate, but within 10 years a significant part of the Filipino community began to use the square as a meeting place and then also as a place of recreation, making of it a space of community identity.

With 4,500 legal immigrants, Filipinos are the third biggest foreign community in Florence, after Romanians (7,000) and Albanians (5,000). It has been estimated, however, that the real number of people with Filipino nationality in Florence is about 8,000.

If we look at how 'new citizens' use the square in relation to other kinds of public, we'll see very different situations in the two halves of the square. In the northern part, where the children from school Pieraccini and the adults who are with them flock after the class, the image that comes out is mainly that of a 'square of integration': a place where the differences among people with different nationalities (Italian included) fade away with the momentary sharing of universal human values, stimulated by the presence of many children of different ages

In the other side, we are faced on the contrary with a 'square of separation', mainly frequented by groups with different geographic backgrounds — migrants, tourists, a

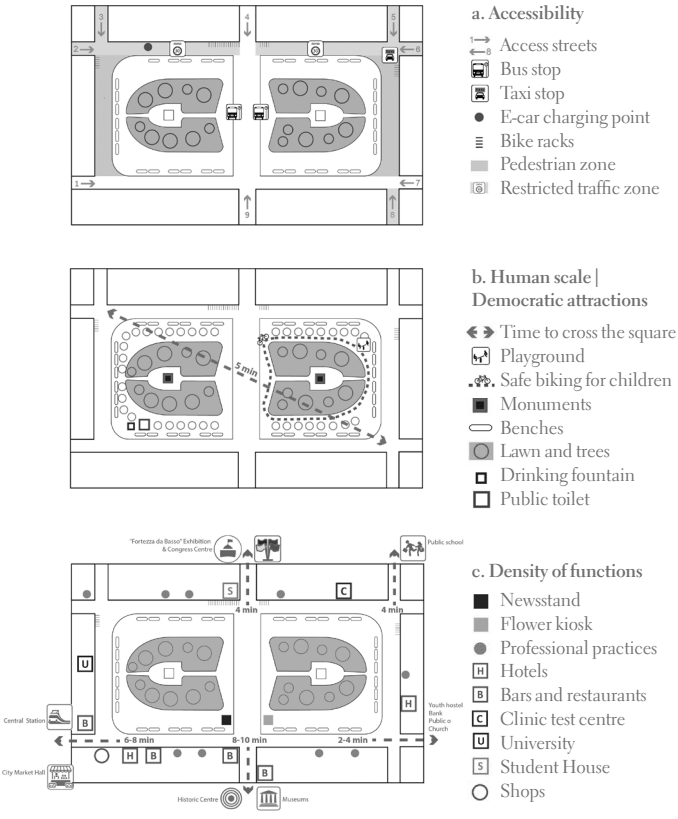
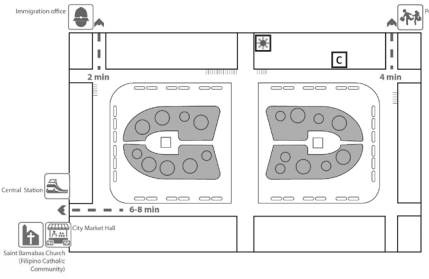


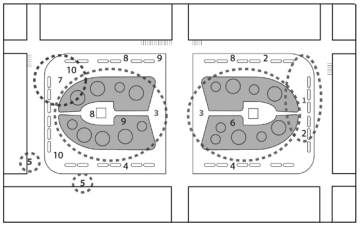

Fig. 4. Interpretative diagrams of the main characteristics and uses of Piazza Indipendenza (graphic: P. Guerriero).

few Italians — occupying distinct spaces with no contact with each other. Among these, the far more significant group is Filipino, which spends in the square many hours a day, eating altogether on the benches and having fun in different ways (street games, cards, etc.). This is especially on Thursday afternoons and Sundays, that is on days when the adults — who for the most part work in Florence as domestic helpers, babysitters, nannies or caregiv-



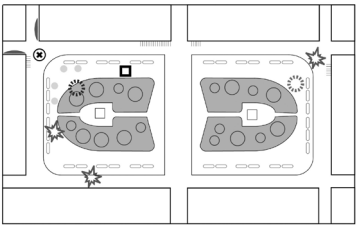

**d. Density of functions of highest interest for migrants**

- Honorary Consulate of Philippines
- C Clinic test centre (property of the Honorary Consul of Philippines)



**e. Crossed programs**

- 1 Children's play
- 2 Family groups
- 3 Resting areas (mainly tourist and students)
- 4 Short stops on benches (all kinds of users)
- 5 Bar/restaurant terraces
- 6 Outdoor games
- 7 Filipino community weekly meeting place
- 8 Other migrant's meeting places
- 9 Students
- 10 Dog owners (mornings and evenings)



**f. Anti-social behaviours and illegal acts**

- Illegal alcohol dealing
- Drunken people's meeting places
- Corners used as toilets
- Night drum players disturbing public peace
- Telephone box used as hiding place for drugs
- Night vandalism acts against the playground
- Place where knife attacks have occurred

ers — are off work. It is an essentially peaceful, but exclusionary, 'occupation' of public space by several dozens of people — which in summer goes on until the night. Seen from the outside, its worst aspects (like alcohol consumption, some unauthorized trades, gambling, waste production, use of trees and some street corners as toilettes) stand out in the foreground, overshadowing the convivial essence of these reunions.

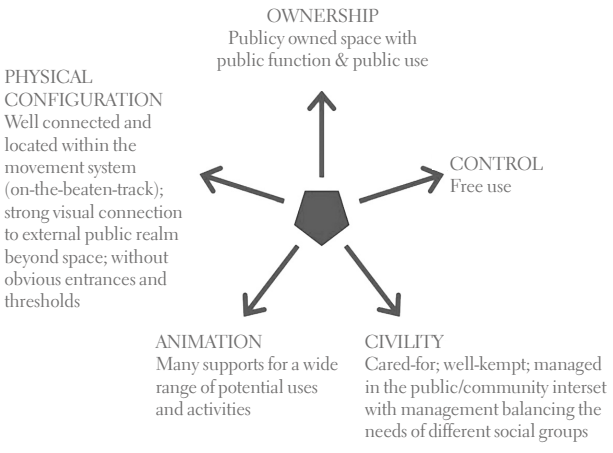
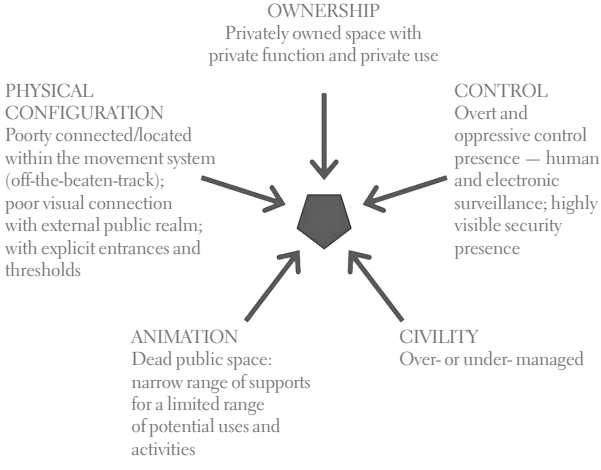



Fig. 5. Characteristic attributes of 'more public' and 'less public' places (source: Varna & Tiesdell, 2010).

These aspects have provoked on Italian residents a reaction of general impatience, which, added up with the opposition to the underground parking, has exacerbated along many years the tension toward the City government, accused by the civic committee of negligence in the protection of the image and liveability of a historic place, as well as, more recently, in providing security to citizens. At night, when the social control in some way exercised by usual visitors is over, and Piazza Indipendenza actually becomes a magnet for the most borderline segments of the immigrant population, it's notable that most anti-social behaviours (like alcoholism and breach of the public peace), illegal activities (drug dealing) and acts of violence (including drunken brawls, which are rather frequent, and the single episodes of knife attacks, occurred in the last two years) concentrate in the southern part of the square — the 'square of separation' — which suffers more from the negative influence of the central station (Fig. 4f).




**The challenged 'publicness' of public space in the historic city**

An inductive, critical realist approach to public space in the contemporary city has been proposed by researchers George Varna e Steve Tiesdell of the University of Glasgow (2010), on the assumption that the 'publicness' of public space is a value in itself, to be assessed in its real applications on the basis of objective parameters, which therefore must be independent from the different aspirations of social actors.

For these authors, the many factors that affect the publicness of a public space — whatever it is: a historic square, as well as a gas station (Giovannoni, 2016) — can be traced back to the following five core 'meta-dimensions', any of which including a range of situations easily recognizable as 'more public' or 'less public' (Fig. 5): *ownership*, *control*, *civility*, *physical con*figuration and *animation*.

Referring to the case of Piazza Indipendenza — an urban space, which is under the *ownership* and management of

the City — we have already seen that thanks to its *physical configuration*, it provides extremely favorable conditions to the concentration of people and 'optional' activities, which are actually reflected, as far as *animation* is concerned, in the high frequentation, for better or worse, of any part of the square. Therefore, it is only on the balance between the other two 'meta-dimensions' — *control* and *civility* — that it depends whether it will be possible to reconcile the two 'souls' of the square, or, on the contrary, options for a reduction both of publicness and social sustainability will prevail.

According to this approach, publicness decreases, when police control increases in presence and visibility (up to the militarization of the territory), and, on the side of the civility,

> where places are either over-managed or under-managed […]. Because both over and under-management deter at least some publics, each makes a place less public. (Varna, Tiesdell, 2010, p. 583)

At one extreme, the imposition of strict regulations for use and a rigid exclusive management bring to a substantial privatization of public space; at the opposite extreme, its permanent occupation by a closed group of people, with its own rules and codes of conduct, results in turn in a reduction of the rights of other people to enjoy it.

A spontaneous balance of the two dimensions — in which the control action is softly exercised by users themselves — characterizes, at least in the daytime, the northern half of Piazza Indipendenza, where the principle of sharing, coming from the main activity that takes place there, that is children's play, prevail over the rules of group.

It's far to be reached, instead, in the southern half of the square, where seemly incompatible logics of group face each other. On one side the Filipino community, while exercising its right to meet in a public place, carries some borderline or illegal activities (particularly, alcohol dealing and gambling), socially accepted within the group but not outside. On the other side, the citizen committee (the same one engaged against the project of a car park under the square) invoke a continuous presence of the police for increasing security, as well as a strict application of an inforce municipal regulation, which, especially in the UNESCO area, provides strong constraints on the use of public spaces (for example, it forbids camping, that for the most intransigent people includes also pick-nicking). Underlying the regulation, there is a restrictive idea of 'civic coexistence, livability and public decorum' — which is the reason why it has never been literarily applied until now. Facing this situation, the initiatives carried in by the City have been wavering and completely ineffective.

As far as the dimension of civility is concerned, a dialog was promoted by the President of District 1 (Historic Centre) in 2013-14, by organizing periodical meetings among public officers, delegates of the Filipino community, the Honorary Consul of Philippines himself, members of no-profit associations engaged in the field of cultural mediation and integration, the parson of Saint Barnabas Church, municipal and state police representatives. However, this experience was abruptly interrupted after the City elections in 2014, before it could have visible effects. Anyway, a weakness that has immediately become clear, is that the Filipino participants to the meetings didn't real-

ly represent the part of the community that take part to the reunions in Piazza Indipendenza.
On the other hand, the decision of the City government to minimize maintenance interventions on the square, waiting to find an investor for the underground parking, to be charged with the costs of renovation, didn't help to create a favourable condition for the relaunch of the place.
As far as the dimension of control is concerned, a special commission established by the District with the task of contrasting the decay of the historic centre, promoted during spring 2015 systematic interventions of plainclothes agents in some critic areas, that also brought to identify and prosecute the illegal alcohol dealers of Piazza Indipendenza. As a result, not completely unexpected but surely negative from the point of view of the publicness, all the Filipino group moved away for some months to another place, the garden at the Fortezza da Basso. However, after the commission was closed and controls over, everything went back to usual.
Today, control is limited to occasional demonstrative actions (patrol car parked in the middle of the pedestrian areas, passport checks to all foreigners, etc.), showy but useless, or, what is worse, counterproductive to the goal of refusing the ongoing conflict. The message they convey is in fact contradictory: discriminatory and repressing on one side, laissez-faire on the other ('Barking dogs never bite'). A new phase is therefore necessary.
The only way to confirm and strengthen the role of Piazza Indipendenza as a pluralistic public space with a strong social vocation, in an urban context otherwise subject, for the most part, to functional normalization processes in-

duced by mass tourism, can only aim to reconcile the contradictions, acting on two levels:

- on one hand, the full renovation of the square, overcoming the idea, frown upon by the majority of residents, of an underground parking, while preserving the fundamental role of the playground in the northern side;
- on the other hand, resuming the dialog among the actors in the southern side, with the aim of a common acknowledgment of the rights of each part, and, as social behavior is concerned, "distinguishing between 'harmful' and 'harmless' activities, controlling the former without constraining the latter. Increasing the general tolerance toward free use, while stabilizing a broad consensus of what is permissible" (Varna, Tiesdell, 2010, p. 582).

From a political point of view, too, the semantic shift of a historic square in Florence from symbol place of urban decline to pilot project of social integration should have nothing but positive feedback.

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BEYOND EMERGENCIES AND AS A STABLE FACTOR, MIGRATION NEEDS TO BE INVOLVED IN THE ORDINARY PLANNING AND DESIGN OF CITIES, EVEN AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INNOVATIVE APPROACHES.

Gisella Calcagno, Roberto Bologna
Collaborators: Luca Deiana, Silvia Magnolfi, Chiara Moretti

# CONCLUSION
# MAPPING THE DEBATE ON NEW CITIES AND MIGRATION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This closing contribution is developed to keep track of the ideas and reflections emerged in the World-Café of the New Cities and Migration Workshop, as occasion to draw some conclusions and envisage some directions related to the design of the forthcoming cities in view of migration.
As testified by the previous academic contributions, the impact of migratory movements within, across and beyond cities is calling for interdisciplinary and innovative paths in planning and design disciplines, able to understand the new complexity of the urban challenges and to support the necessary resilience to change.
Aware of the necessity to tackle more with open questions than with closed answers, the workshop was organized to promote a collective debate between professors, researchers, students and professionals to address questions and stimulate reflections.
The workshop was carried out with the format of the 'world café', whose name itself suggested the intention to bring people from all around the world at the same table discussing the same topics: the variegated composition of the participants, with very different geographical and cultural backgrounds, was the occasion to match,

and enrich with, different perspectives on the common ground of the compelling questions related to the transformation of cities due to the game-changer of migration.
The world café method has the objective to create an intimate and informal setting where ideas could emerge and be fertilised between participants, just talking and listening: for this reason, it appeared particularly appropriated for the cross-pollination of thoughts dealing with such contemporary themes.
The World-Café Workshop took place in the five afternoons of the conference week, to collectively taste 'the dishes of the day': at the end of the conference sessions of the morning, panellists were asked to propose three open-ended questions related to their interventions, to be used as catalyser for the debate.
During the first four days, three questions were distributed in three tables directed by a 'table host' selected among participants, who had the role to welcome guests introducing the topic of the table: the use of big sheets and coloured pens was intended to graphically record ideas and thoughts. Participants had the opportunity to join all the tables, moving spontaneously from one to another according to their need to take part to the discussions and to give their contribution. At the end of each day, the three tables' discussions were briefly reported to stimulate the last considerations among participants.
The last day of the workshop was dedicated to a collective synthesis of the works at the tables, conducted with a mapping activity aimed to identify common results.
The next pages propose the outcomes of the workshop, elaborated by a research group supervised by Prof. Roberto Bo-









logna, with the aim to share fresh perspectives on the open architectural discourse on migrations and the new cities.

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**The post production**

Based on the raw material of the World-Café Workshop, the post production recomposed its outcomes in a readable format, intended not to be exhaustive but representative. Each of the following 12 pages represents one of the 12 workshop's tables, arranged to synthetize in points the debate emerged to address the following questions:

Table 1 | To whom does the public space belong?
Table 2 | Common Home = Common Future?
Table 3 | What about migration and resilience?
Table 4 | What is housing for migrant reception?
Table 5 | Which policies and strategies for integration?
Table 6 | What about planning for refugees?
Table 7 | How can architecture contribute to the integration of migrants and refugees?
Table 8 | What about temporality and permanence in contemporary migratory movements?
Table 9 | Is public space exclusive property of the local community?
Table 10 | What is the border between formal and informal in an urban area?
Table 11 | For who do we design resilient public spaces?
Table 12 | Why architects can/must influence urban policies and decision making in migration issues?

Finally, the workshop's results were interpreted in a map with the objective to propose the emerged architectural perspectives on new cities and migration.

# #1

TO WHOM DOES
THE PUBLIC SPACE
BELONG?

# TABLE 1

Space is a raw and abstract material, it should also be virtual: architects design the physical space to shape the built space.
Not all the built space is located, programmed and designed, most of it is the result of a process of **adaptation** in time.
People experience the built space through **use**, **making places** in a process of belonging.
The spatial experience is related to the 'what' and the 'how' and not only to the 'where'.

**Belonging** is related to culture and habit, not to property.
**Belonging** regards both migrants (new belonging) and locals (still-belonging).
**Belonging** is linked with the place, related with the use and the experience of the built space.

People use public spaces according to their own **habits and culture**.
The idea of public space itself is culturally conditioned.
Public space should be a shared place of multiple experiences for different belongings.
Public space both reflects **power** and hosts its **contestation**.
The same public space has the potential to become many places, also through different uses in time.
Public space is not property of anyone, but **temporarily appropriable** by everyone.
A good public space must stimulate the raising of a common and shared belonging.
Public space has an **educative** pursuit.

# #2

## COMMON HOME = COMMON FUTURE?

# TABLE 2

What is the meaning of home?
**Home** is not house.
**Home** is where and how you want to be.
**Home** is the time of childhood, home is family.
**Home** is where you fill safe.
**Home** is where you have your strong social connection.
**Home** is where you share values and wishes.
**Home** is a common responsibility.
**Home** is not just a building.
**Home** is not just where you live.
**Home** is the safety in an unknown future.
**Home** is an environment offering security and happiness.

What does it mean common?
Common is an **acceptance** to share.
Common is not to have something, but to have a **common ground** and to be able to **share** it.
Common **responsibility** is to have minimum conditions and opportunities.

What is a common home?
Common home is a shared place.
Common home does not mean to delete **differences**, because differences make us.
Common home means to put differences in the same ground and share it.
Common home is where everybody respects the others.
Is it a **utopia**?
Common home is not a common future, but it is the place where the unknown **future** should live.

# #3

## WHAT ABOUT MIGRATION AND RESILIENCE?

# TABLE 3

Migration can be a **shock** for a territory or a city: for this reason, resilience is required.
What does it mean resilience?
It is the **ability** to become **strong**, **healthy**, or **successful** again after a shock.
It is the ability of something to return to its original shape after it has been pulled, stretched, pressed, bent.

Improving resilience in cities due to migration means to improve integration.
What is the meaning of the word 'integration'?
**Integration** is bringing people of different racial or ethnic groups into unrestricted and equal associations.
**Integration** is not conformation.
**Integration** is to recognize differences as values.
**Integration** is mutual inclusion.

Resilience depends on the **mentality** and the **spirituality** of each **culture**.
**Flexibility**, **diversity** and **creativity** in cities can increase integration.
Architects have the tools to involve people in the design and the **co-creation** of inclusive cities.

# #4

## WHAT IS HOUSING FOR MIGRANT RECEPTION?

# TABLE 4

The topic of settlements and housing for migrants is figured out as a problem of how 'we' are doing something for 'them': "Where to settle migrants? How can we distribute them? How should we design housing for migrants?".
We take charge of their future and migrants lose their right to decide what to do, where to settle, how to house: we put them in a **hostile environment**, expecting them to respond/integrate their culture as an **acceptance**.

Housing is not a physical object: it is the immaterial process of **dwelling**, an association of vectors that dispatch, transit and distribute while being all connected.

We live in a world where movement becomes space, where the city is no longer a fixed structure but a current that flows all around.
If in the past the stranger was the one who arrived today and left tomorrow, nowadays the stranger is the one who arrives today and stays tomorrow: we are all strangers.

In the globalized society, **information** can be a game changer: social networks can offer to migrants the information they need to pre-understand (freedom of choice) the arrival context and match (sharing of time/knowledge) with the locals.
Using information through **social networking**, to trigger movements following specific vectors that lead to shared interests, can promote a shared time and create a shared space: a space without a program, but only filled with **experiences**. These are the new cities.

# #5

## WHICH POLICIES AND STRATEGIES FOR INTEGRATION?

# TABLE 5

Do people have the right to choose where to live? Should there be borders?
Integration means that there is **separation** and **labelling**, which produce **discrimination** and so the problem of integration.
Who is eligible for integration? Do people want to be integrated? Is integration **mandatory**?

Policies must set the conditions for integration, strategies must indicate the actions to promote it.
Policies should impose only basic values, that all humans agree on, beyond differences: **human rights** should be a common ground.
Policies have many levels and there is the need to define priorities: housing should be one of these.
Policies based on the sustainability of numbers can help the stability of the hosting society and avoid socio-economic problems: it can influence integration.

**Knowledge** is the key strategy for integration:
if people know what is integration, it could be accepted and not imposed;
if societies know who is coming, new comers can be integrated easily;
if people know each other, sharing time and experience, integration can happen.

Integration is a global problem which requires global solutions.
Nevertheless, integration can happen only at a **local scale** and always needs a physical space of **encounter**.

# #6

## WHAT ABOUT PLANNING FOR REFUGEES?

# TABLE 6

Refugees are escaping from specific origin countries to uncertain destination countries (the migrant has a specific migration path).
'Planning for refugees' means to plan all the spaces that occur during the **processes of migration** and integration as new citizen.
'Places of refuge' are special spaces in certain transit and hosting countries, spaces of peace, relation and interaction of different cultures.

Refugees are usually living in official settlement (planned camps) or in unofficial settlements (informal camps): they both are hard to define as place of refuge.
If the activity of planning is related with the analysis of certain and uncertain factors, in the case of 'planning for refugees', uncertainness is more than certainness.
**Numbers and emergency** make the planning task more uncertain, sacrificing the specificity of the refugee population and of hosting places: formal solutions are **standardized**.
Instead, the **values and economies** of the informal refugee settlements and the specificity of the hosting place can influence an environmental quality and social processes of integration.

Planners need to re-evaluate the relationships between **formality and informality**: refugee camps are the ideal space to analyse them.
'Planning for refugees' should mean 'planning places of refuge', and not planning refugee camps.

# #7

## HOW CAN ARCHITECTURE CONTRIBUTE TO THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES?

# TABLE 7

As a global concern, integration can be read from different points of view and toward different perspectives: also by architects and looking to architecture. The concept of integration requires the **interaction** between cultures and different ways of living, looking also to maintain **diversity**, to share **affinities** and to assure **respect** to one another.

Architecture is not only about the design of spaces: for this reason, architects have not a universal solution, or the best type of architecture, to improve integration. The changing and even more complex social needs, as the emergency of refugees, are calling for architects to rethink their **role** in society.

Looking at interaction as a condition for integration, the role of architecture can be to educate all people towards **sustainable ways of living**.
Starting with the **basic social needs**, as individuals as well as community, architecture with a minor 'a' is the point of departure to re-considerate the social role of architecture: **core-housing**, **public spaces** and **participatory programs** should be the right way to realize architectures for integration.

Architecture for integration is about designing spaces where processes of **sharing**, **interaction** and **knowledge** can take place.

# #8

WHAT ABOUT TEMPORALITY AND PERMANENCE IN CONTEMPORARY MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS?

# TABLE 8

Due to the acceleration of both voluntary and forced migrations, the movement of people is the term of concern for the analysis of **temporality and permanence**: in fact, movements do not refer to a 'place' but to 'spaces', intended as travels in **time and location**.
Referring to housing and settlements for migrants as people on the move, the question architects should ask themselves is how to introduce time in the whole equation.

If the past urban development, both planned and spontaneous, was a long-time process, today the exacerbation of housing emergencies, as the ones resulting from migration fluxes, is **accelerating urban processes**.
As result, temporary and permanent housing or settlements have a thin line of division: it is increasingly difficult to understand when the two concepts overlap.

The **transformation** from temporary to permanent occurs when a temporary settlement, due to social, economic or political problems, survives longer than the time initially planned; permanence in the time does not imply that a temporary settlement assumes the characteristics of a permanent one.
Temporality and permanence are not related only to space but also to people using it: even if a space is temporary, people can transform it into their own permanent one, creating a sense of **belonging**.

In designing temporary spaces for migrants, architects need to consider strategies to ensure **flexibility** for future transformations, permitting organized permanence: infrastructures should be based on **permanent cores**, filled with the possibility of an **evolving development** with a sustainable understanding.

# #9

IS PUBLIC SPACE EXCLUSIVE PROPERTY OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY?

# TABLE 9

The adjective '**public**' suggests no restrictions on **property**: the public space should not be property of the locals, they do not have more rights than foreigners. A public space is for everyone and not the property of anyone.

There is an **evolutive** relationship between locals and public spaces, that is static in the present, but **dynamic** in time.
Public space reflects and shows the culture of the local community: there, locals should maintain their own identity and, making public space accessible, share it to everybody.
This does not mean that it cannot be open to other cultures: the **accessibility** permit to the public space to potentially belong to all people.
At the same time, public space is object of a constant and **informal design activity**, which transforms it in line with the evolution of society: even more **multicultural** will be the local community, even more the public space will be **adaptable** to every **culture**.

Usually a public space results from a void created by an architecture (as a monument), but a good public space should make a difference on its own: it is architecture itself.
There is difference between a designed public space and a not designed public space, but it is never a good idea to over-design public spaces, to permit minimal changes in time through **democratic design**.

A good public space should be defined by its **flexibility**, **multiple usage**, but also by **randomness**.

# #10

WHAT IS THE BORDER BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL IN AN URBAN AREA?

# TABLE 10

A city is always the result of a constant **layering** of **spontaneous processes**, becoming defined shapes in time.

**Formality** and **informality** coexist in time and space: their constant dialectic defines the city as we know, shaping its built environment and its soul.
**Borders** between formal and informal urban areas are those places where the **dialectic** is physically debated, sharply evident and possibly **conflictual**.

In the past informal areas were easily recognisable, usually relegated in peripherical suburbs. Nowadays, in the era of the city growing due to urban migrations, every part of the city could rapidly become a new border.

Borders as 'spaces in between', fluid and undefined areas, are the lymphatic system of the city, where urban life is daily generated and renewed: in this light, they represent a network of **freedom**.

The natural tendencies to conflict can be positively solved through public space, whose use is neither a formal nor an informal action.
Public spaces, due to the suspension of formality/informality, are or should be those places of the borders where human activities, neither prescribed nor forbidden, can be promoted to sustain the **spontaneous evolution** of the city.

# #11

FOR WHO DO WE DESIGN RESILIENT PUBLIC SPACES?

# TABLE 11

The increasing processes migrations and their main destination in urban contexts are addressing compelling questions to cities: such questions are not ready to be answered, indeed they have just started to be questioned.
We can just define the terms of the problem:

> For who | International migration processes are creating an even more heterogenous and conflictual pool of **city-users**. If subjects are even more diversified, it is logical to consider the only common element: their being **humans**. Targeting city-users will be always more difficult (as cultural labelling), the **common ground** is the only possible starting point (age should be a good labelling).

We | Beyond architects, urban planners and other professional **design agents**, it is recognised the fundamental role of city-users in participating in design processes.

> Design | Design is not intended as a project, but as an **open-ended process**, whose objective is to drive a sustainable transformation of the built environment to meet social needs.

Resilient | The urban impact of migration fluxes is so deep that is considered as a shock: for this reason, city requires strategies of resilience, able to strengthen its resistance and to sustain its **adaptation** to such new conditions.

> Public space | Public spaces are the natural arena where the questions relating to the city resilience should be addressed: due to their characteristic to be the places for all, they condense all the city **complexity**.

# #12

## WHY ARCHITECTS CAN/MUST INFLUENCE URBAN POLICIES AND DECISION MAKING IN MIGRATION ISSUES?

# TABLE 12

Architects are human beings, citizens and professionals: they can have a statement on the issue.
As professionals, architects are trained to understand and design spaces, as the urban ones: they have the competencies to deal with the spatiality of the city and the design skills to approach its complexity.

Architects can influence urban policies before and after the political decision: before, they can awake the **public opinion** building a dense network of **research** and **divulgation** on the issue; after, they should implement projects promoting **participatory design**.

Architects, such as other professionals, should not set action alone, because urban policies on migration need to be **interdisciplinary**: research and implementation groups must involve professionals of different fields, such as sociologists, psychologists, economists.

Urban policies on migration must be more open than possible to all citizens: **anticipation** is crucial to address the issue, and new **communication strategies** can give an important contribution on this direction.

Addressing the migration issue, urban policies need to be adapted the specificity of the place and **adaptable to diversity** of the new society: this is the main challenge of future cities.

**The New Cities and Migration Map**

In reporting the workshop's outcomes, the New Cities and Migration Map is both a synthetical and a strategical vision of the challenges that migration within, across and beyond cities is addressing to the design disciplines.

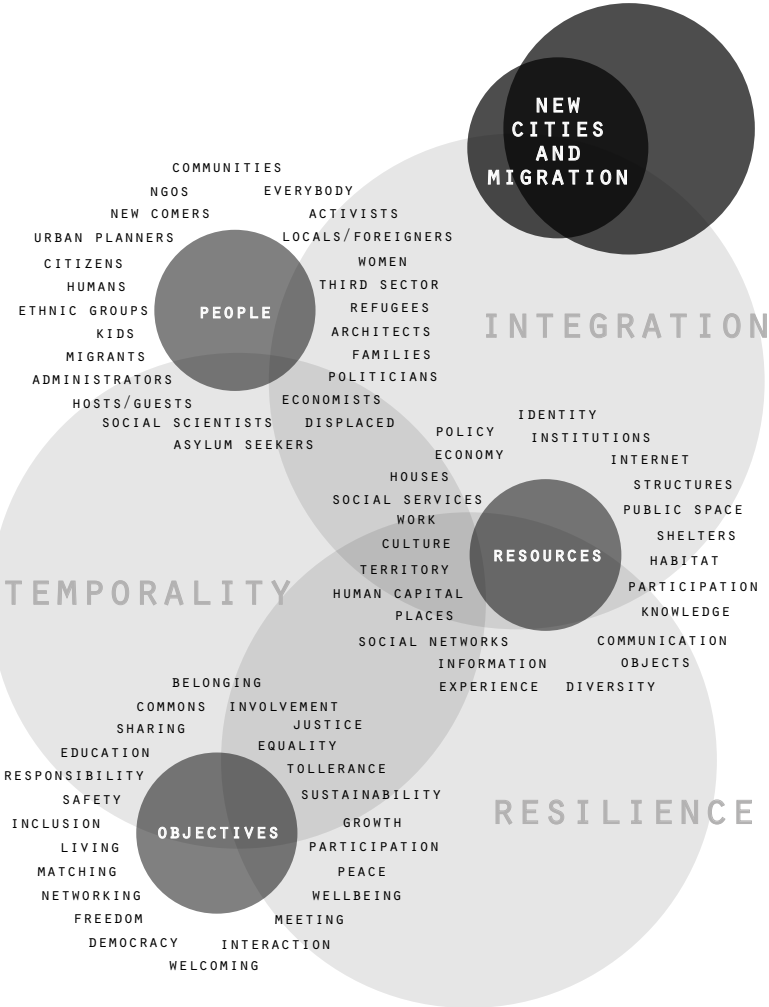
Beyond emergencies and as a stable factor, migration needs to be involved in the ordinary planning and design of cities, even as an opportunity to call for innovative approaches.

The mapping process was intended to conceptually frame the complexity, of human needs, environmental challenges, social realities, economic models, if not political implications, carried by migration into cities, where complexity could be read and should be designed.

'Resilience, Temporality and Integration' were collectively selected by the workshop's participants as the three key concepts capable to synthetize the tables' discussions: looking at the design of the new cities in view of migration, they have been interpreted as the three guiding principles which should drive processes of urban transformation capable on migration.

With the aim to individuate who, what and why about new cities and migration, the map was populated by recurring keywords in the tables' discussions, representative of the debated topics: they were positioned in the map considering a logic of process related to people, resources or and objectives.

The map is intended to look at the complexity of the urban processes led by migration through the lenses of the proposed guiding principles, with the objective to stimulate strategical design approaches for the new cities.


NEW CITIES AND MIGRATION
PEOPLE
COMMUNITIES
NGOS
EVERYBODY
NEW COMERS
ACTIVISTS
URBAN PLANNERS
LOCALS/FOREIGNERS
CITIZENS
WOMEN
HUMANS
THIRD SECTOR
ETHNIC GROUPS
REFUGEES
KIDS
ARCHITECTS
MIGRANTS
FAMILIES
ADMINISTRATORS
POLITICIANS
HOSTS/GUESTS
ECONOMISTS
SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
DISPLACED
ASYLUM SEEKERS
INTEGRATION
IDENTITY
POLICY
INSTITUTIONS
ECONOMY
INTERNET
HOUSES
STRUCTURES
SOCIAL SERVICES
PUBLIC SPACE
WORK
SHELTERS
CULTURE
RESOURCES
HABITAT
TERRITORY
PARTICIPATION
TEMPORALITY
HUMAN CAPITAL
KNOWLEDGE
PLACES
SOCIAL NETWORKS
COMMUNICATION
INFORMATION
OBJECTS
EXPERIENCE
DIVERSITY
BELONGING
COMMONS
INVOLVEMENT
SHARING
JUSTICE
EDUCATION
EQUALITY
RESPONSIBILITY
TOLLERANCE
SAFETY
SUSTAINABILITY
INCLUSION
OBJECTIVES
GROWTH
LIVING
PARTICIPATION
MATCHING
PEACE
NETWORKING
WELLBEING
FREEDOM
MEETING
DEMOCRACY
INTERACTION
WELCOMING
RESILIENCE

Migration can be a chronic stress for cities, sometimes a serious shock, which can threat urban resources and social cohesion; at the same time, migration is recognized as fundamental factor of city development: resilience is the game-changer.

As guiding principle, resilience means to consider design and planning strategies capable to strengthen cities in absorbing impacts, not as a merely reaction or survival responses, but as a continuous and proactive preparedness and adaptation, robust to the changes and oriented to the growth. Under the lens of resilience, migration is an opportunity to plan and design infrastructures, services and spaces sustainably ready to impacts, where society can thrive constantly.

Migration inevitably augments diversity in cities, both in terms of people, resources and objectives: to consider, combine and harmonize the plurality of urban processes, the principle of integration is required to support holistic design strategies, comprehensive of social realities and economic models. The concepts of integrated and participatory planning and design are particularly fertile in the ground of the urban phenomenon of migration: gathering together broader groups of professionals and city users in network of mutual knowledge is strategical to tackle diversity envisioning unity. Under the lens of integration, migration is an opportunity to plan and design infrastructures, services and spaces able to satisfy all, where new citizens can give rise to a common belonging.

Migration is process that happens in space and time: the arrival of migratory fluxes itself represents a moment zero in the life of the migrants and of the city, followed by very

different processes that evolve in time in relation to the transit or staying of migrants and to the short or long-term objectives of cities. The design principle of temporality regards the necessity to consider the temporal dimension of urban processes characterised by migration: the design of the new cities requires flexibility and adaptability in the use of resources. Under the lens of temporality, migration is an opportunity to plan and design infrastructures, services and spaces able to evolve in time, where the new cities can fit the evolving needs of the changing societies.

The combination of the three design principles gives back a broad concept of design, not only projected to the design of spaces or planning of places, but co-related to comprehensive processes, which can involve people and use resources in more innovative ways to sustain shared objectives.

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The book brings together contributions to the discussion on the relationship between the future of our cities and migration, which took place on the occasion of an international meeting held in Florence (Italy).

Scholars, educators, researchers, professionals, policymakers and students interested in the contemporary challenging question of migration within, across and beyond cities participated from different countries where migration represents a big challenge. The socio-spatial transformation of the everyday urban environment due to the migrations movements has been debated under an interdisciplinary approach. In general terms the workshop aimed to address questions related to cities and regions that are resilient to change (climatic, social, cultural), and to discuss new forms of residential patterns and urban life, with the purpose of jointly developing global visions regarding future cities in transformation. Immigration being but one of the most important expressions of this change.

The purpose was exploring new forms of appropriation of the urban territory, in a multidisciplinary way, involving the various fields related to the project, as well as the humanities and social sciences.

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